

“A PHOTOGRAPHIC STUDIO ACCORDING TO THE ADJOINED PLAN”. NEW ARCHIVAL SOURCES FOR THE HISTORY OF PHOTOGRAPHY IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY BUCHAREST

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Abstract: This paper presents the first results of an ongoing survey of photographers and photographic studios in 19th and early 20th-century archival records created by the municipality of Bucharest, Romania. Following the gradual development of urban regulations in the 1830s and 1840s, any construction work carried out within the boundaries of the city was subjected to a formal building permission handled by the municipal architect, and later by the Technical Department of the municipality. This pertained as well to the construction of studios or the alteration of pre-existing structures in view of accommodating a photographic studio. The archival fonds thus generated provide us with a largely untapped primary source for the history of photography in Bucharest. The archival records discussed in this paper concern two of Bucharest's foremost photographers in the 19th century, Carol Szathmári and Franz Duschek. Corroborated with cartographic material and press sources, the retrieved building permissions bring significant clarification to the chronology and the changing urban contexts of their photographic practice, while the accompanying architectural projects shed new light on the spatial organization of their residences and studios. The arguments advanced in this paper notably lead to the identification of Duschek's surviving studio house on strada Nouă (today str. Edgar Quinet), and to the localization of several exterior shots in the immediate vicinity of Duschek's provisional studio in No. 21 Calea Mogoșoaiiei.

Keywords: 19th – century photography, urban history, architecture, architectural project, Carol Szathmári, Franz Duschek, Joseph Exner

From the pioneering work of George Potra and Constantin Săvulescu onwards, the historiography of photography in 19th-century Bucharest has so far largely relied on two main categories of primary sources: (i) the surviving photographic output of local studios, and (ii) press sources and period reference materials such as calendars and city directories.¹ Advertisements published in the local press have proven crucial to the historical recovery of Bucharest's earliest photographic visitors – itinerant daguerreotypists whose work has been almost entirely lost.²

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¹ George Potra, *Fotografia și vechii fotografi din București*, *Gazeta Municipală* X.517, 19 Apr. 1942 and *Vechii fotografi din București*, in *Fotografia. Revista Asociației F.A.R.* VI.4–6, 1941, p. 103–105, expanded as *Aspecte din istoricul fotografiei în România* in *Fotografia* 1970, no. 10, p. 573–608 and finally republished in *Din Bucureștii de ieri*, vol. 2, București, 1990, p. 252–266. Constantin Săvulescu, *Cronologia fotografiei românești, perioada 1843–1916*, in *Fotografia* 1969, no. 4, p. 227–237, reworked into *Cronologia ilustrată a fotografiei din România. Perioada 1843–1916*, București, 1985. For an overview of the Romanian historiography of photography, see Adrian-Silvan Ionescu, *Fotografie și istoriografie*, in *Revista Istorică*, s.n. XVIII.5–6, 2007, p. 519–535.

² The most thorough work on such press sources remains Adrian-Silvan Ionescu, *Fotografi itineranți europeni în ținuturile românești (1840–1860)*, in Daniela Bușă & Ileana Căzan (eds), *Curențe ideologice și instituțiile statului modern – secolele XVIII–XX*, București, 2007, p. 215–260.

With the gradual settlement of its practitioners, photography became more likely to leave traces in the archives created by the urban administration in the soon to be unified Romanian Principalities. Such archival fonds have remained to this day a largely untapped source for the history of photography in the region. Among the records worth investigating from a photo-historical perspective, building permissions present us with the opportunity of mapping out 19th-century photographic practice at the finest level of urban history, recovering architectural designs of photographic studios, changing contexts and biographic information. This paper will discuss the first results of an ongoing survey of photographic studios and related material in the 19th and early 20th-century archival records created by the municipality of Bucharest.³

Bureaucratic practice and urban (micro)history in Bucharest

Since the adoption of the quasi-constitutional Organic Regulation in Wallachia (1832) in the aftermath of the Russo-Turkish War of 1828–1829, the municipal administration of Bucharest, in its successive institutional forms, sought to codify urban regulations and to assert actual control over the construction and renovation works carried out within the boundaries of the city.⁴ By the early 1850s, such policies gave way to bureaucratic practices that were to endure for much of the 19th century with remarkable stability. Any construction work or intervention on a pre-existing building was subjected to a formal building permission (*voie/învoire de clădire*, later *autorizațiune*) handled by the municipal architect, the Architectural Section (*Secția Arhitectică*), or later the Technical Department (*Serviciul Tehnic*) of the municipality. A hand-written request (*petiție, cerere*) would be filed most often by the owner of the land plot, sometimes by tenants or building contractors; it typically included a textual description of the proposed intervention written by the applicant, accompanied in some cases by architectural drawings ranging from crude drafts to elaborate copies of the master architectural project. The architect in charge would write a formal, usually more explicit abstract of the petition (*relație / relațiune*) and formulate recommendations, based on which the city council could accept (with or without conditions) or reject the application. If accepted, the permission would be issued in the form of a permit (*bilet*) handed to the applicant and copied on the original application. If rejected, the application would nevertheless be filed for further reference. The administrative records thus generated up to the year 1912 make up a very substantial archival fonds held now by the Bucharest municipal branch of the National Archives of Romania.⁵

The systematic investigation of these fonds was pioneered by art historian Cezara Mucenic, whose doctoral thesis on civil architecture in 19th-century Bucharest (1989) set the tone for finer-grained archival forays.⁶ In recent years, these records have mostly received attention as primary sources for architectural history, heritage registration and restoration works. In this context, dispersed pieces of archival information

³ For reasons of clarity and consistency, local toponyms will be employed throughout this paper in their Romanian form, with translations provided whenever relevant; e.g. *strada Nouă*, rather than New Street. Likewise, references to local archival fonds will use the conventional Romanian acronyms; see below note 5. Dates are reproduced as written in the primary source material, most often following the Julian calendar, sometimes also mentioning the Gregorian equivalent.

⁴ On the topic of urban regulations in 19th century Bucharest, see the still useful surveys of Florian Georgescu, *Probleme de urbanism și sistematizare în București în anii 1831–1848*, in *București. Materiale de Istorie și Muzeografie* 4, 1966, pp. 35–68 and *Regimul construcțiilor din București în deceniile IV–V din secolul al XIX-lea*, in *București. Materiale de istorie și muzeografie* 5, 1967, p. 38–67; Nicolae Lascu, *Epoca regulamentară și urbanismul. Câteva observații generale*, in *Historia Urbana* II.2, 1994, p. 119–130; more recently, Emanuela Constantini, *La capitale immaginata. L'evoluzione di Bucarest nelle fase di costruzione e consolidamento dello stato nazionale romeno (1830–1940)*, Soveria Mannelli, 2016, translated in Romanian as *Capitala imaginată. Evoluția Bucureștiului în perioada formării și consolidării statului național român (1830–1940)*, transl. Aurora Firța-Marin, Iași, 2019. 19th-century urban regulations can be found in collections such as Ioan M. Bujoreanu (ed.), *Collecțiune de legiurile Romaniei vechi și noi*, București, 1873, p. 930–966; Emil Vîrtosu, Ion Vîrtosu & Horia Oprescu, *Începuturi edilitare I (1830–1832): Documente pentru istoria Bucureștilor*, București, 1936. The history of bureaucratic practices in mid-19th century Bucharest remains to be written.

⁵ SMBAN / *Serviciul Municipiului București al Arhivelor Naționale* (Bucharest Municipal Service of the National Archives), fond PMB / *Primăria Municipiului București* (Bucharest Mayor's Office, i.e. city council), with the notable subfonds *General* (1835–1859), *Serviciul Tehnic* (Technical Department, 1860–1912), and *Alinieri* (Alignments).

⁶ Cezara Mucenic, *Arhitectura civilă a Bucureștilor în secolul al XIX-lea* (PhD thesis, University of Bucharest, 1989), published as *București. Un veac de arhitectură civilă. Secolul al XIX-lea*, București, 1997. In 2016, parts of Mucenic's research archive were made available on the digital platform *Arhiva Cezara Mucenic*: www.arhivacezaramucenic.rhabillage.ro. Most of the photocopies and transcriptions on the platform relate to the SMBAN/PMB fonds mentioned above.

related to 19th-century photographic studios in Bucharest have made their way to publication in printed or digital form, whereas they have not been addressed from a photo-historical perspective.⁷ The research presented here aims to put forward a comprehensive approach to urban history and the history of photography, bringing together all the various available sources: archival and cartographic records, press material and photos.

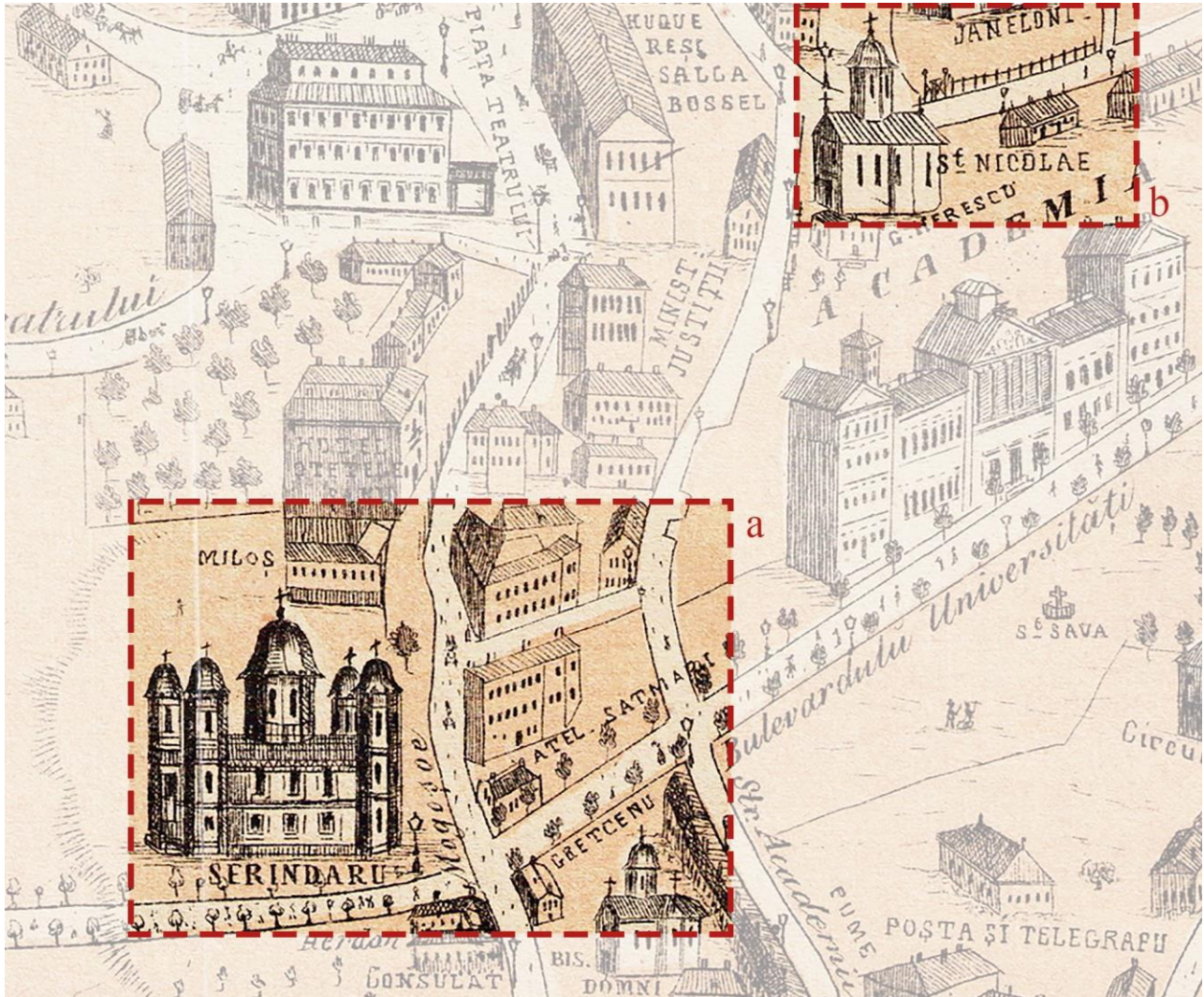


Fig. 1: Major Dimitrie Pappasoglu's map of the centre of Bucharest (*Centrul Capitalei Bucuresti*), 1871. Detail with the areas discussed in this paper: (a) the Greceanu house, Szathmári's studio at the intersection of Calea Mogoșoai with the new boulevard, strada Nouă and prince Miloș' residence; (b) str. Biserica Enei. Cholnoky Collection (Cluj-Napoca), inv. 47–1561.

One further point should be made at this stage with regard to the state of cartographic sources available for a historical inquiry into the urban context of 19th-century photographic studios. The decade spanning from 1846 to 1856 has seen the elaboration of several city plans that provide us with a thorough and reasonably accurate record of Bucharest's traditional urban tissue. Paradoxically, no such comparably detailed record of the city was subsequently produced up to the mid-1890s, with Dimitrie Pappasoglu's historiated plans only providing a stylised representation of the city in the early 1870s (fig. 1). This situation leaves us with a three-decade hiatus at a time of accelerated urban change and, as it happens, increased

⁷ Several photographic studios were included in the albums of architectural projects edited by Oana Marinache, *Arhiva de arhitectură 1860–1870: o colecție unică de planuri și schițe*, București, 2016 and *Arhiva de arhitectură 1870–1880: o colecție unică de planuri și schițe*, București, 2018. In digital form, see Adrian Crăciunescu, *Atelierul fotografic Franz Duschek (1)* (Dec. 2017) and *Atelierul fotografic Franz Duschek (2)* (April 2018), both published on the author's personal blog *Analiza istorico-arhitecturală*, <http://a-craciunescu.blogspot.com>.

photographic activity in Bucharest.⁸ Understanding the urban context of a photographic studio in the 1870s, for instance, is more likely to require collations of disjointed sources such as situation plans and sketches recovered from unrelated applications for building permissions, together with alignment plans and other circumstantial evidence – most of which are to be found in the fonds described here. A complete survey of the fonds is likely to take years.⁹ Given the immediate interest of these documents for the history of photography, I have found it more beneficial to share my findings in a series of preliminary case studies involving about as much historical reasoning as permitted by the available sources, observing lacunae and leaving open the possibility for new material and future correlations.

The present paper will explore archival records regarding two of Bucharest's most notable photographers: Carol Szathmári (i.e. Carol Popp de Szathmári / Szathmári Papp Károly) and Franz Duschek. Most of the urban contexts to be discussed here gravitate around the central segment of Calea Mogoșoaiei (fig. 1), a particularly dense area in terms of 19th and early 20th-century photographic practice.

Carol Szathmári: *Bulevardă și propria casa*

Painter Carol Szathmári (1812–1887) settled in Bucharest around 1843, started experimenting with photography in 1848, and had already mastered the medium by the outbreak of the Crimean War.¹⁰ In spite of the substantial and longstanding interest in his biography and work, the chronology and topography of Szathmári's studios in Bucharest has yet to be fully clarified. In the 1850s, he may have set up an early studio in the Bossel Inn, on the main avenue of the city, Calea Mogoșoaiei (today Calea Victoriei).¹¹ In the spring of 1862, Szathmári sets up a better-documented studio at the commercial heart of Bucharest further south, at *Hanu(l) Verde* (Green Inn).¹² The German-language city directory *Adressenbuch von Bukarest* still lists Szathmári at Hanu Verde in its 1866 edition, which would have been most likely compiled at the end of 1865.¹³ The edition of 1867 shows him having moved his business back to Calea Mogoșoaiei, without any address.¹⁴ This suggests that the relocation occurred in 1866, rather earlier than later in the year.¹⁵ Szathmári's new set-up should be most likely connected with a view circulated already in the interwar period, which captures one of the aristocratic residences on Calea Mogoșoaiei, the Greceanu house, with display cases for photos on the outer wall of the property. Local antiquarian and memoirist Gheorghe Crutzescu ascribed them to Szathmári, who would have settled in the barely visible annex in the courtyard (fig. 2).¹⁶ Unfortunately, there is very little to discern in the photo that would confirm the existence of a photographic studio; the steep roof extending behind the corner of the neighbouring Popovici house to the left edge of the image could perhaps belong to a glass structure, which would be fittingly facing north.

⁸ I shall refer most often in this paper to two *published* plans: Captain Friedrich Jung's *Plan der Stadt Bukarest* (1856), an updated version of the Borroczyński plan of 1852, and Major Dimitrie Pappasoglu's *Centrul Capitalei București : Colôrea de roșu* (1871). For the 19th century plans of Bucharest, see Florian Georgescu, "*Marele plan al orașului București ridicat de maiorul Borroczyński între 1844–1846*", in *București. Materiale de istorie și muzeografie* I, 1964, p. 39–80 and Andrei Pănoiu, *Evoluția orașului București*, București, 2011, p. 33–57. Pace Emanuela Constantini, *op. cit.*, p. 110–111, who misrepresents the accuracy of the Pappasoglu's plans.

⁹ Aside from the sheer proportions of the fonds, restoration work carried out on individual files, depending on their conservation state, is likely to prevent a linear survey of the records.

¹⁰ For orientation in the extensive bibliography on Szathmári, see first Adrian-Silvan Ionescu, "Szathmári, a great documentary artist", in *RIHA Journal* 79, 2014; Adrian-Silvan Ionescu (ed.), *Szathmári: Pionier al fotografiei și contemporanii săi*, București, 2014; Emanuel Bădescu & Radu Oltean, *Carol Popp de Szathmári: Fotografia Bucureștilor | Photographer of Bucharest*, București, 2012; Kincső Károly, Mariana Vida, Farkas Zsuzsa, *Uralkodók festője, fényképész: Szathmári Papp Károly*. Kecskemét, 2002 with further reference. For the date of his arrival in Bucharest: Árpád Árvay, "Cîteva scrisori inedite ale lui Carol Popp de Szathmári", in *Studii și Cercetări de Istoria Artei. Seria Artă Plastică* 19.1, 1972, p. 142 and Adrian-Silvan Ionescu, *Szathmári, a great documentary artist*, §3.

¹¹ Emanuel Bădescu & Radu Oltean, *op. cit.*, p. 14–15.

¹² *Românul* VI.141–143, 21–23 May 1862, p. 440.

¹³ *Bukarester Haus-Kalender* 1866 (7th ed.) / *Adressenbuch von Bukarest* (2nd ed.), p. 33, section *Photographen: Szathmari Charles*. *Strasse Curtea veche, Hanu verde*.

¹⁴ *Bukarester Haus-Kalender* 1867 (8th ed.) / *Adressenbuch von Bukarest* (3rd ed.), p. 30, section *Photographen: Szathmari Charles*, *Podu Mogoschoae*.

¹⁵ George Potra, *Bucureștii de ieri*, vol. 2, p. 259 approximates Szathmári's stay at Hanul Verde to have lasted until about 1862; Adriana Dumitran, "Grafica publicitară a cartoarelor fotografice ale lui Carol Szathmári", in Adrian-Silvan Ionescu (ed.), *Szathmári: Pionier al fotografiei și contemporanii săi*, 2014, p. 86 until about 1864; Emanuel Bădescu & Radu Oltean, *op. cit.*, pp. 14–15 circumscribe the activity of the studio to ca. 1859–1866.

¹⁶ Gheorghe Crutzescu, *Podul Mogoșoaiei – Povestea unei străzi*, 1st edition, București, 1943, pl. 4 and p. 121; cf. the comments of George Potra, *Aspecte din istoricul fotografiei în România*, p. 580, abridged in the *Din Bucureștii de ieri*, vol. 2, p. 259. The photo had been previously published without any reference to Szathmári in Henri Stahl, *Bucureștii ce se duc*, 2nd ed., București, 1935, p. 197 and Colonel Popescu-Lumină, *Bucureștii din trecut și de astăzi*, București, 1935, p. 275 (dated 1859).



Fig. 2. The Greceanu residence on Calea Mogoșoaiei before the opening of the boulevard. (atr.) Carol Szathmári, ca. 1866–1867. Published in Gheorghe Crutzescu, *Podul Mogoșoaiei: Povestea unei străzi* [1943], pl. 4.

The building permissions for all the studios mentioned above, if preserved, have yet to be found. The photo of the Greceanu house can be nevertheless related to a situation plan drawn around the time, in response to an urban project that would also shape the topography of Szathmári's subsequent studio (fig. 3). By 1865, the idea of a modern boulevard linking Bucharest's newly built Academy in the centre to the Cotroceni palace on its western outskirts had taken shape. The first stage of the project would bring the boulevard as far as the intersection with Calea Mogoșoaiei; since the two properties on the plan stood in its way, they were to be partially expropriated for public purpose.¹⁷ The plan itself was used to discuss with the owners the terms of the expropriation. It featured two possible routes for the future boulevard, of which the one drawn in red was eventually implemented. A closer look at the Greceanu property on the right allows us to better understand the layout of the property, with a narrow annex attached to the main residence and a detached, more substantial building facing the entrance and standing right on the path of the future boulevard. If Szathmári had indeed set up a studio here, then this is for the time being our best guess for its location. It is also worth noting that the proposed red route left a portion of the Greceanu property on the other side of the boulevard: this corner would accommodate in 1871 Szathmári's better documented studio, as we shall see in what follows.

It would seem that Szathmári did not wait for this expropriation to force him out of the Greceanu courtyard. By 1868, the *Adressenbuch von Bukarest* places his photographic business in strada Biserica Enei (*Biserica Jeni*), only minutes away from the Greceanu house and Calea Mogoșoaiei.¹⁸ This is corroborated by Szathmári's lithographed cardstock from the late 1860s, which locates the studio at his own house on str.

¹⁷ SMBAN, fond PMB Serviciul Tehnic, d. 5/1866; f. 3 for the plan. For an overview of the projects for this boulevard, see Nicolae Lascu, *Bulevardele bucureștene până la Primul Război Mondial*, București, 2011, p. 23–28.

¹⁸ *Bukarester Haus-Kalender 1868* (8th ed.) / *Adressenbuch von Bukarest* (4th ed.), p. 21, section *Photographen*: "Szathmary Charles, Strasse Biserica Jeni."; *op.cit.* 1869, p. 29, *Lithographen*: "Sathmari Carl. v., strada Biserica Jeni." and p. 32, *Photographen*: "Szathmary Carl, strada Biserica Jeni."; *op. cit.* 1870, p. 25, *Lithographische Anstalten*: "Sathmari Carl. von., str. Biserica Ieni." and p. 27, *Photographen*: "Sathmary Carl, str. Biserica Ieni."

Enei (*strada Jenii propria Casa*).¹⁹ Knowledge of this house has never been lost, since it remained in the family after Szathmári's death (fig. 4). Nevertheless, it was not properly documented while it stood, and more regretted than studied after its destruction during an Allied bombing raid in the spring of 1944. It is reported to have still housed at the time of its destruction Szathmári's negatives, photographic apparel and correspondence.²⁰

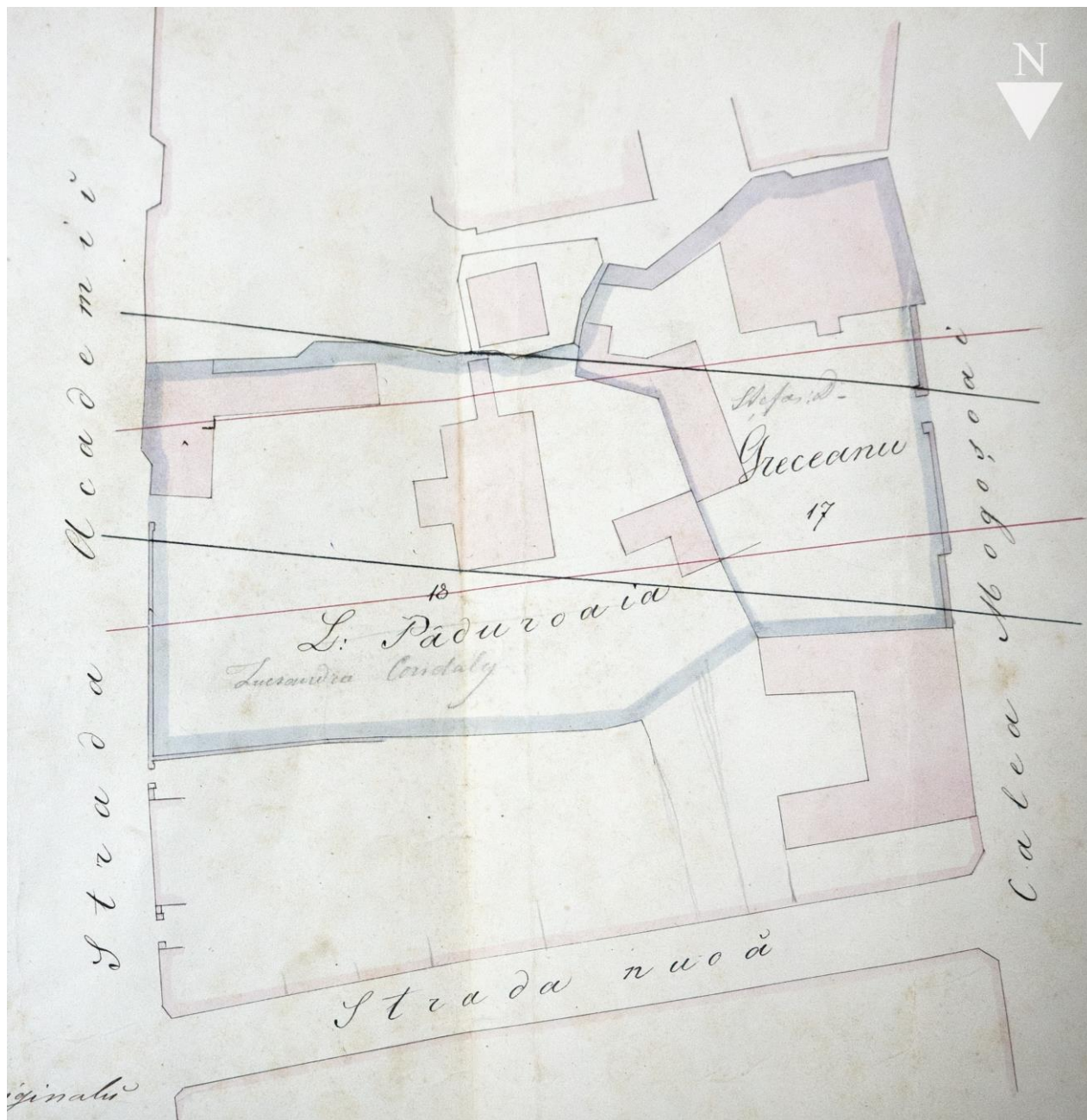


Fig. 3. Situation plan for the expropriation of the Coridali and Greceanu properties, with two proposed routes for the future boulevard linking the Academy with the Cotroceni palace (ca. 1868). SMBAN, fond PMB Serviciul Tehnic, d. 5/1866, f. 3 (detail).

¹⁹ On the evolution of Szathmári's cardstock, see Emanuel Bădescu & Ștefan Godorogea, "Carol Popp de Szathmari fotograf", in *Revista Muzeelor și Monumentelor. Seria Muzeu* 6, 1983, pp. 54-60; Adrian-Silvan Ionescu, *Arta graficii publicitare a cartoanelor de fotografii din secolul al XIX-lea* in *Revista Muzeelor și Monumentelor. Seria Muzeu* 6, 1988, p. 75-77; Adriana Dumitran, *Grafica publicitară a cartoanelor fotografice ale lui Carol Szathmari*, in Adrian-Silvan Ionescu (ed.), *Szathmári: Pionier al fotografiei și contemporanii săi*, p. 83-90.

²⁰ For photos and brief comments on Szathmári's house, see for instance George Potra, *Din Bucureștii de ieri*, vol. 2, p. 259 and unnumbered plate between pp. 160-161; Emanuel Bădescu & Radu Oltean, *op. cit.*, p. 25 and 29.



Fig. 4: The Szathmári house in str. Biserica Enei. “Rue Felix Roussel ancienne Rue Enei, Bucarest”, (ed.) Fotoglob, ca. 1912. Gelatin silver print, real photo postcard: detail. National Library of Romania, inv. FOTO 56562.

The retrieved archival records show that the Szathmári house was built from the ground in two stages. The initial request was filed by Szathmári's second wife Anna Charlotte Böttger in March 1867.²¹ The envisaged plot resulted from the recent partitioning of an aristocratic property formerly owned by the Cornescu family.²² Interestingly, neither the request, nor the building permit make any mention of a photographic studio or structures indicative of photographic activity (skylights etc.), only including the minimal information required by the urban regulations: that it was a two-storey masonry construction with metal roofing. The adjoined architectural project is woefully sketchy, comprising only the plan of the ground floor, an unfinished elevation and a cross-section. Several observations can be nevertheless made on the basis of the available material. First of all, the building only covered at this stage three of the five bays known from later photos. The ground floor comprised two shops easily accessible from the street, but unconnected to the rest of the house, while a (vaulted?) passageway led to the rooms facing the inner courtyard and the staircase. The common layout of a mid-19th century merchant's house in Bucharest would place the main living quarters upstairs; but if Szathmári's painting, lithographic and photographic studio(s) were indeed located upstairs, one would imagine that not much space was left for anything else. The proposed façade shows a propensity for the medievalist aesthetics of Central European Romanticism, a choice of taste that was not uncommon in Bucharest at the time, but certainly fits well with Szathmári's artistic persona. Judging by the known photos of the house – all of them taken decades after Szathmári's death – the façade may have never been decorated in this form. It should be noted, however, that the earliest view I have been able to locate so far (fig. 4 above) captures the façade featuring four niches with statues and probably terracotta plaques under the window sills on the upper floor, all of which seem to have vanished by the 1930s.

²¹ SMBAN, fond PMB Serviciul Tehnic, d. 6/1867, ff. 52–53 (submitted on 29 March 1867, permit no. 458 issued on 7 April 1867).

²² “[...] the plot in the courtyard of the former Cornescu garrison” (*locul din curtea fostei Casarmei Cornescă*) in the request. On the partitioning of the Cornescu property, see now Raluca-Iuliana Moțoi and Camelia-Mirela Vintilă, *Istoria străzii Biserica Enei*, in *Urbanitas III*, p. 60–61.

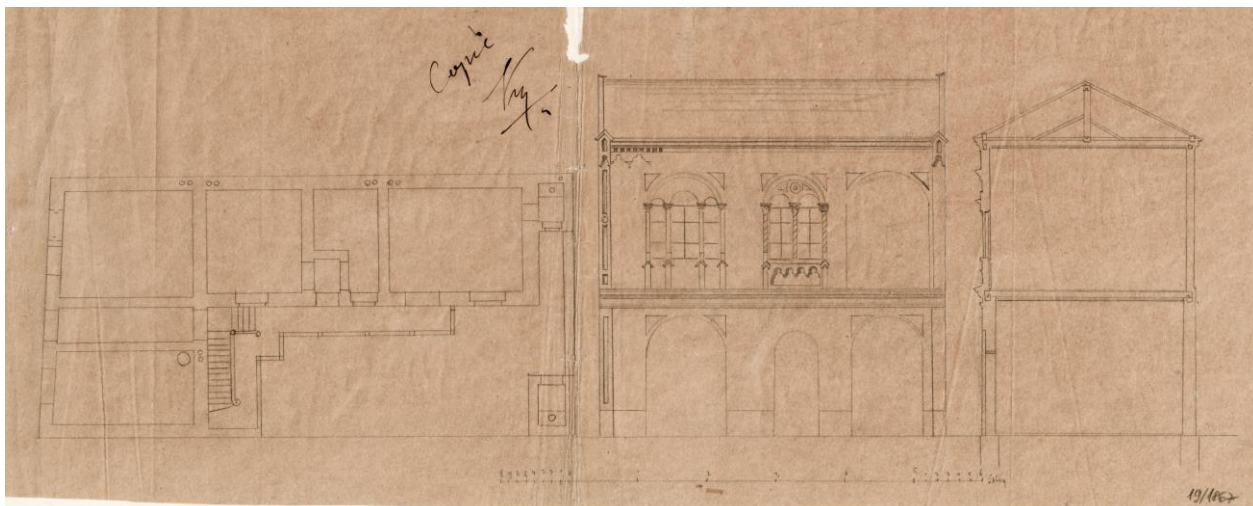


Fig. 5: Architectural sketches for the Szathmári house on str. Enei (submitted on 29 March 1867). SMBAN, fond PMB Serviciul Tehnic, d. 6/1867, f. 53 (detail).

In April 1870, it is once again Anna Charlotte Szathmári who requests permission to build “an addition of rooms” (*ună adaosă de odăi*) to the right of the pre-existing structure.²³ The request is only accompanied this time by the plan for the ground floor (fig. 6), albeit one significantly richer in detail; indications of function for each room are included, a rare occurrence in the plans submitted to the municipality at this time, as we shall see. With the proposed additions, the building reached its known aspect with five bays. The commercial function of the front rooms, now three instead of two, is confirmed by the captions (*Pravali*), but this layout provides full communication with the backrooms. Most of the other spaces are rather uninformatively labelled “rooms” (*Odai*), with the exception of the one at the far end on the right, which is designated as “rooms for the studio” (*Odai pentru atilie*). Given its position, it seems more likely that this was an annex or a storage room, rather than one of Szathmári’s main workrooms, and one quite uncomfortably placed away from the staircase. In the absence of any preserved plans of the upper floor, we are left in the dark as to the layout and proportions of the photographic studio.

By 1871, Bucharest’s first boulevard had reached its targeted crossing with Calea Mogoșoaiei, and Szathmári was prompt to meet the commercial opportunities of the reconfigured area. As observed earlier, the expropriation for the boulevard had left his previous landlord, Ștefan Greceanu, with ownership of a small plot on the north-eastern corner of the intersection. In March 1871, Szathmári filed a request stating:

“I have rented from Mr. Ștefan Greceanu a plot of 7 fathoms in front of Podul Mogoșoaiei, placed across the street from the Sărindar church and I would like to build on it a provisional Photographic Studio following the adjoined plan. [...]”²⁴

The municipality granted the building permission for a duration of one year, at the end of which Szathmári was supposed to dismantle his structure and presumably submit a new project for authorization. As we shall see, this was not going to be the case at all.

“The Romanian Photography” (*Fotografia Română*), as Szathmári emphatically called his studio, was a single-storey pavilion with a striking façade informed by the Romantic aesthetics seen at work earlier in the 1867 project for his house on strada Enei (fig. 7). Its L-shaped plan with a corner entrance responded to the topography of the new intersection, while also leaving room for a small garden (fig. 8). The colour coding on the floorplan indicates that the building rested on a pre-existing blind wall (depicted in grey), considerably thicker than the new structure; this is likely to be a surviving segment of the old enclosure of the Greceanu property, captured intact in the pre-expropriation photo (fig. 2 above). A closer look at the partitioning shows a clear succession of spaces leading from the entrance to what is undoubtedly the main workroom of the studio, fitted with large glass panes overlooking the garden. One also notices a small, windowless room only accessible from this workroom, which could be identified as Szathmári’s darkroom. Finally, we are left with a large, square room corresponding to the

²³ SMBAN, fond PMB Serviciul Tehnic, d. 30/1870, ff. 41 and 45 (submitted on 4 April 1870, permit no. 975 issued on 18 June 1870).

²⁴ *Am închiriat de la D^{nu} Ștefan Greceanu 7 stinjeni de locu din fața podului Mogoșoai ce este visavi de biserica Sărindaru și voescă a construi pe dînsul ună Atelieru Photographicu provisoriu dupe alăturatul planu.* SMBAN, fond PMB Serviciul Tehnic, d. 40/1871, ff. 69 and 78–79 (submitted on 22 March 1871, permit no. 554 issued on 23 March / 4 April 1871). The architectural project is reproduced in Oana Marinache, *Arhiva de arhitectură 1870–1880: o colecție unică de planuri și schițe*, p. 17–18.

shorter façade of the building, which is the one also documented in elevation. Leaving aside the inconsistency between the two drawings with regard to the number of windows (two in the elevation, one on the floorplan), the elevation notably depicts a skylight extended over the entire length of the façade. This would have resulted in a well-lit space fit to function as an exhibition room and a waiting room for customers.²⁵

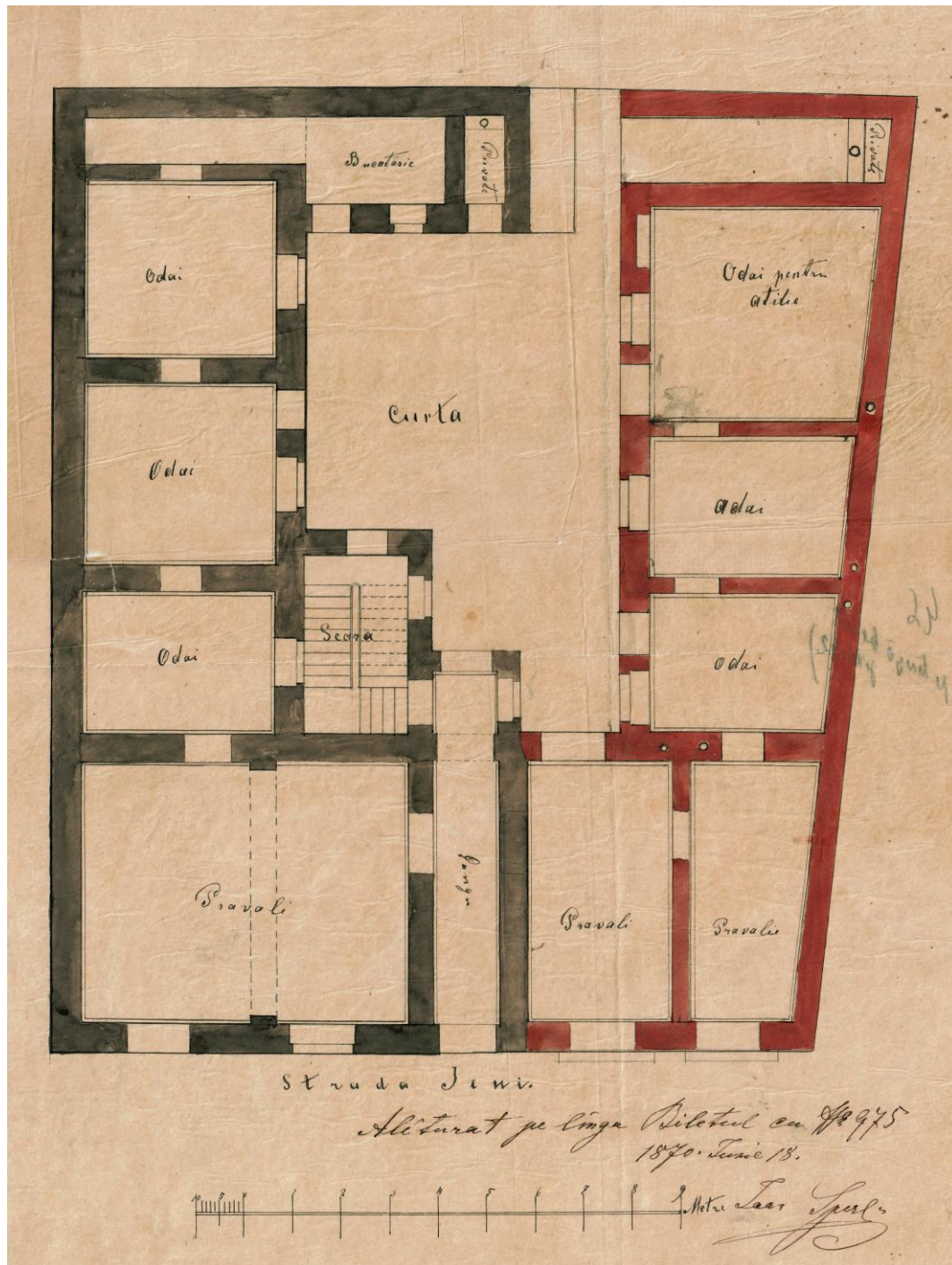


Fig. 6: Architectural project for the extension of the Szathmári house on str. Enei (submitted on 4 April 1870). SMBAN, fond PMB Serviciul Tehnic, d. 30/1870, f. 45.

²⁵ George Potra, *Aspecte din istoricul fotografiei în România*, p. 580 quoting an unnamed eye-witness, describes a “tin plate shack with a glass ceiling, many windows and curtains” as Szathmári’s studio in the Greceanu courtyard, which Potra assumes to have been simply moved to the corner of the boulevard later. While the description is certainly consistent with a modest 19th century studio, it does not corroborate the architectural project discussed here. Potra left out this account in the final version of the paper, as published in *Din Bucureștii de ieri*, vol. 2, p. 252–266.

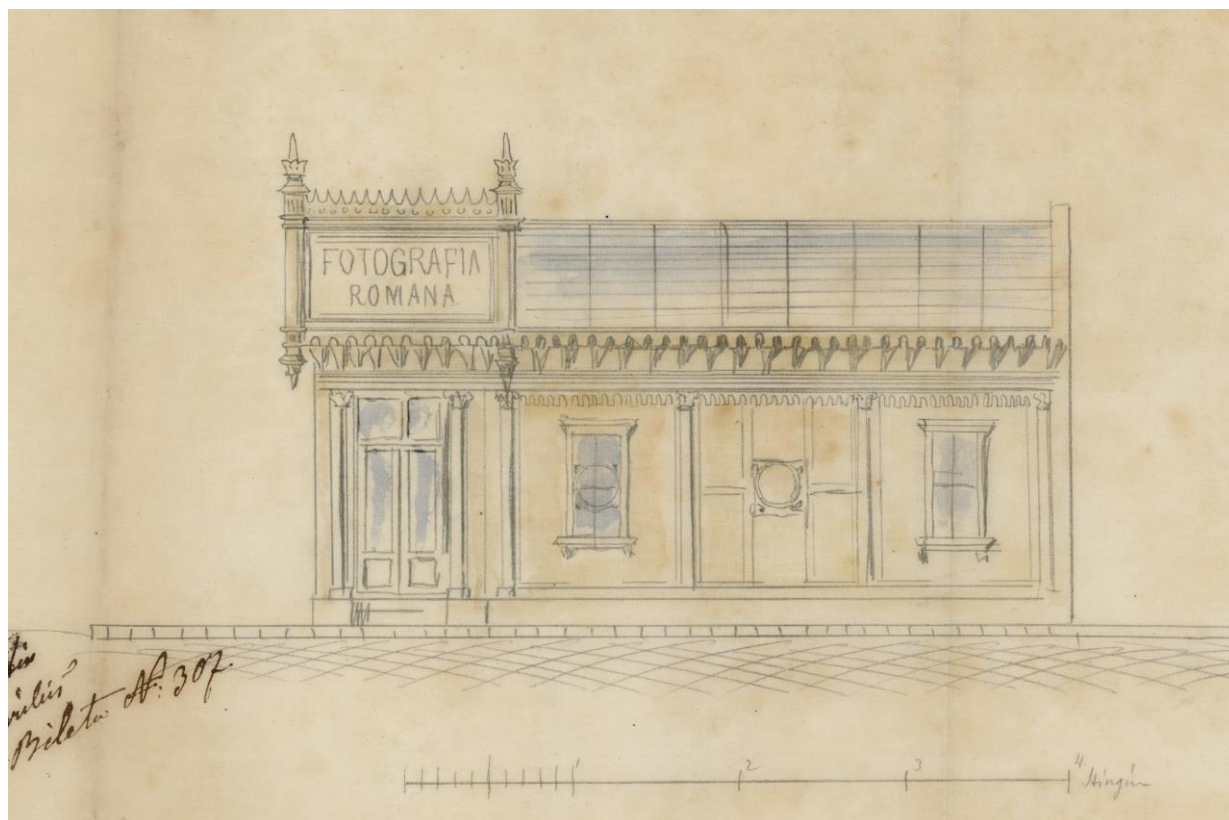


Fig. 7: Architectural project for Szathmári's *Fotografia Română* studio (submitted on 22 March / 3 April 1871): elevation. SMBAN, fond PMB Serviciul Tehnic, d. 40/1871, f. 78.

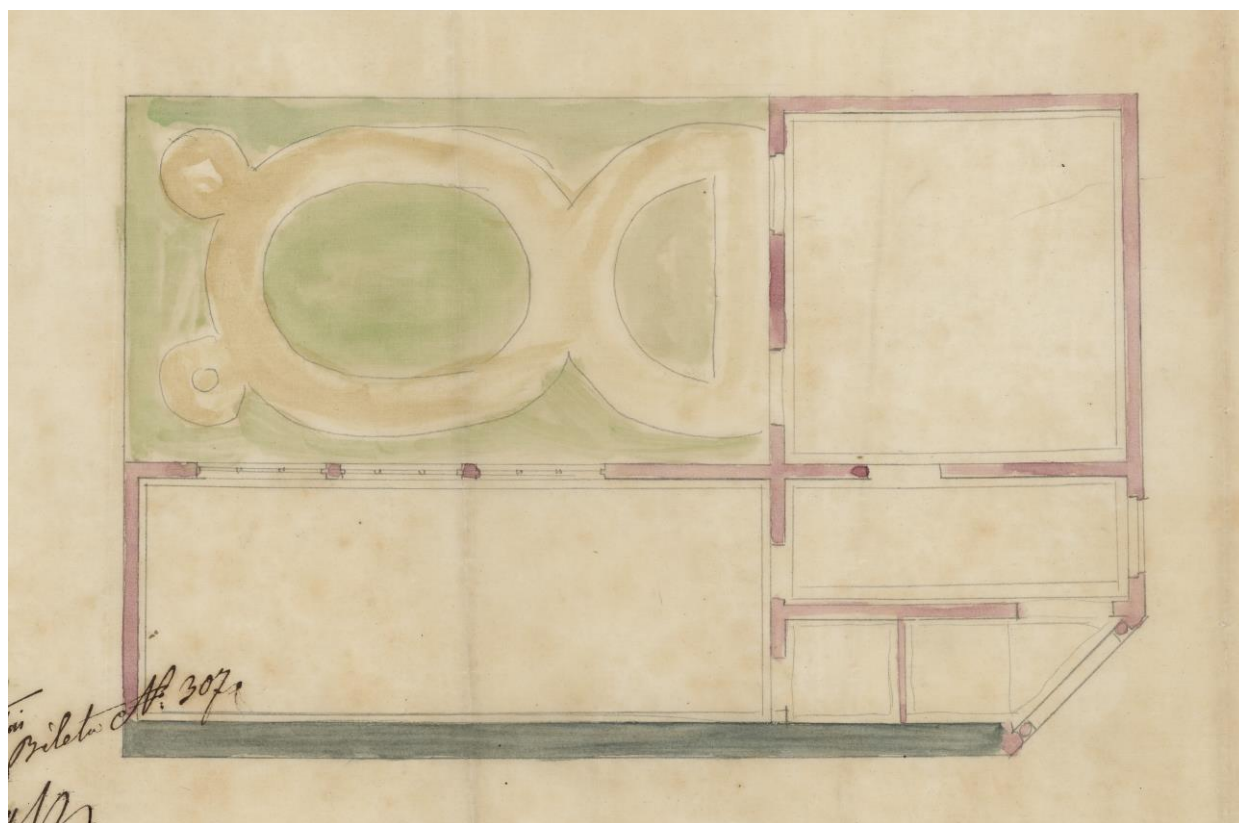


Fig. 8: Architectural project for Szathmári's *Fotografia Română* studio (submitted on 22 March / 3 April 1871): floorplan. SMBAN, fond PMB Serviciul Tehnic, d. 40/1871, f. 79.

Szathmári's cardstock can be closely related to the construction of the new studio, with some types mentioning both *FOTOGRAFIA ROMANA* as featured in the architectural project, and the corresponding location (*Calea Mogoşoe; Colţu Bulevardului*) - these can be dated now to 1871 at the earliest. Later cardstock refers to the studio as well as to the house on strada Enei (*Bulevardu şi PROPRIA CASA*).²⁶

Szathmári's boulevard establishment is the only photographic studio depicted on Major Pappasoglu's plan of central Bucharest, published the same year; the accompanying caption reads ATEL. SATMARI (fig. 1). As anticipated, Szathmári did not dismantle his studio in 1872, as stated in the building permission, but managed in all likelihood to prolong his permission well into the 1880s.²⁷ By that time, the studio had become a minor landmark, shorthand for the corner it stood on. For instance, various announcements of the municipality refer to "the corner of the Boulevard towards the Szathmári photography" (*colţul Bulevardului despre fotografia Szatmari*), and even "on the Boulevard, next to the photography" (*pe Bulevard, de lângă fotografie*).²⁸ The memory of the studio also seems to have persisted for a while after its dismantlement, if only for practical reasons: similar announcements referred now to the "former Boulevard photography" (*fosta fotografie Bulevard*).²⁹ Such sources allow us to narrow down the date of the studio's closure to ca. 1884–1885.³⁰

Franz Duschek's studio house on strada Nouă

Despite his consolidated status as one of the foremost photographers of his time in Bucharest, basic aspects of Franz Duschek's biography and photographic oeuvre remain to this day unclarified.³¹ Fortunately, his career accounts for one of the most substantial sequences of records found so far in the archives of the Technical Department.

Franz Duschek was active as a professional photographer in Bucharest by 1865.³² Some of his earliest surviving *cartes de visite* (locating his studio in Bucharest, without an address) can be dated to 1865 on the basis of surviving annotations, while the *Adressenbuch von Bukarest* does not include him in the photographers' section of its 1866 edition (most likely compiled at the end of 1865).³³ Taken together, this circumstantial evidence hints to Duschek's recent arrival on the local scene. Nevertheless, by 1866 his business was firmly established in str. Nouă (literally: *New Street*; today str. Edgar Quinet), a side street

²⁶ For these types, cf. Emanuel Bădescu & Ştefan Godorogea, *op. cit.*, p. 57; Adrian-Silvan Ionescu, *Arta graficii publicitare a cartoarelor de fotografii din secolul al XIX-lea*, p. 76; Adriana Dumitran, *Grafica publicitară a cartoarelor fotografice ale lui Carol Szathmari*, p. 87.

²⁷ The archival record for this has yet to be found. George Potra, *Aspecte din istoricul fotografiei în România*, p. 580–1 mentions subsequent prolongations granted to Szathmári, but the reference provided is incorrect.

²⁸ E.g. *Monitorul Primăriei Bucureşti* [III].33, 17 (29) October 1877, p. 308; IV.58, 31 January 1879, p. 58; VI.38, 3 October 1881, p. 346, VI.39, 10 October 1881, p. 359; VI.41, 24 October 1881, p. 375; IX.7, 12 February 1884, p. 42; IX.8, 19 February 1884, p. 49.

²⁹ *Monitorul Comunal* XI.4, 26 January 1886, p. 32; XI.6, 8 February 1886, p. 60; XI.7, 16 February 1886, p. 73; XI.8, 23 february 1886, p. 79.

³⁰ Cf. George Potra, *Aspecte din istoricul fotografiei în România*, p. 581 (until around 1880); Emanuel Bădescu & Radu Oltean, *op. cit.*, p. 20 (until 1882).

³¹ Brief treatments of Duschek's photographic career include Constantin Săvulescu, *Cronologia ilustrată a fotografiei din România*, p. 9, 31–32, 42, 46–48; George Potra, *Din Bucureştii de ieri*, vol. 2, p. 261; Emanuel Bădescu, *Fotografii Bucureştilor (1843–1866)* and *Fotografii Bucureştilor (1866–1881)* in Emanuel Bădescu and Ion Bulei, *Bucureştii în imagini în vremea lui Carol I*, vol. 1, Bucureşti, 2006, p. 33–34 and 134, reworked in Franz Duschek, *Magazin Istoric* 43.3, 2009, p. 74–76; Adriana Dumitran, *Arta fotografiei în România (1840–1900): document şi mentalitate*, *Revista Bibliotecii Naţionale a României* XIII.1–2, 2007, p. 72–73; Adrian-Silvan Ionescu, *Photographers in Romania 1840–1940. A Dictionary*, in *Muzeul Naţional XX*, 2008, p. 51–52. For Duschek's wartime photography: Adrian-Silvan Ionescu, *Fotografia ca document al Războiului de Independenţă*, in *Revista Istorică XIV* (s.n.) 3–4, May–Aug. 2002, p. 41–49, reprinted in *Penel şi sabie. Artiştii documentarişti şi corespondenţi de front în Războiul de Independenţă (1877–1878)*, Bucureşti, 2002, p. 126–135 with further reference.

³² Emanuel Bădescu, *Fotografii Bucureştilor (1843–1866)*, p. 74 dates Duschek's studio in str. Nouă back to the spring of 1862 on unspecified grounds. Pace George Potra, *Din Bucureştii de ieri*, vol. 2, p. 261: "probably during the Independence War", i.e. the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878.

³³ *Bukarester Haus-Kalender* (7th ed.) / *Adressenbuch von Bukarest* (2nd ed.), 1866, p. 33 only lists [M.B.] Baer, Jules Marie, G.A. Pils, Charles Szathmari, Wollenteit.

opened up in the second half of the 1850s in order to link Calea Mogoșoaiei to str. Academiei to the east.³⁴ As far as photography was concerned, the location was commercially viable due to its proximity to Calea Mogoșoaiei and, in particular, to the building on the northern corner of the intersection: the Slătineanu house. A former aristocratic residence sold piecemeal to various entrepreneurs in the late 1850s, the Slătineanu house accommodated at the time a popular ballroom and, from 1868 onwards, the increasingly successful confectionery of the Capșa brothers; the latter were to play a significant role in Duschek's fortunes on strada Nouă.³⁵ Some of Duschek's *carte de visite* designs from the late 1860s make explicit use of this landmark, locating the studio "near the Slătineanu hall" (*linga Sala Slatineanu*). While the building permission for Duschek's first studio set up in str. Nouă remains yet to be found, its position relative to the Slătineanu house can be nevertheless deduced from subsequent records, as will be shown.

In December 1870, Duschek submitted a request for the construction of a house on the property in str. Nouă "near no. 1" (*lingă No. 1*), which he had recently bought from the then-owners of the Slătineanu house, brothers Costache and Dimitrie Anghelovici.³⁶ The request referred to the building of a provisional wooden studio across the street from his plot (*pe locul de vis a vi*), which would be demolished once the construction of the house was concluded. The text of the request makes mention of adjoined plans for the house, but they have not been preserved in the file. Duschek's two-stage project did not elicit a uniform response from the city administration: while the house was deemed acceptable, the provisional studio was found to go against the construction rules of the 1st district (*ocol*), which prohibited the erection of wooden structures in the centre of the city. As a result, the application was formally rejected *in toto*. Next month, Duschek resubmitted the application for the house without any mention of a provisional studio, this time swiftly obtaining his building permission.³⁷ The permit does not provide much detail on the structure of the house, apart from prescribing firewalls towards the neighbours (*calcan despre vecini, asemenea de zid*), which suggests that the construction extended on both sides to the limits of Duschek's property. The surviving floorplans show a three-storey house that follows by and large the patterns of a mid-19th century merchant's house in Bucharest, with commercial spaces on the ground floor and communicating rooms extending to the back of the plot around an inner courtyard.

One way or another, Duschek also managed to secure a provisional solution for his photographic business, as intended earlier. In the spring of 1871, the temporary relocation of his studio „because of new construction works that are to be carried on the site of the current studio” (*din cause de construcțiuni noi ce are a se face pe locul actualelui Atelier*) was announced in the local press. This provisional studio was to be found “across the street from the current one” (*peste drum de cel actual*), a description that closely mirrors the wording in his unsuccessful December 1870 request.³⁸

By late October 1871, Duschek was announcing in the local press the conclusion of the construction works and the opening of the new photographic studio “arranged as practically as possible and wholly conforming to the needs of modern times” (*aranjantă câtă se pôte de practică și întru tôte conformă trebuințeloră timpului modernă*) in his own house on str. Nouă (*Strada Nouă, Cassa proprie*).³⁹ As with Szathmári's residence examined earlier, neither Duschek's request, nor the permit granted by the municipality stated any intention to accommodate a photographic studio in the newly erected house. Nevertheless, the December 1870 request already made it

³⁴ Duschek's studio is explicitly located on str. Nouă on *cartes de visite* designs that can be safely dated to 1866 based on annotations and connections to certain political events, such as the 11/23 Feb. 1866 coup d'état which led to the abdication of prince Alexandru I. Cuza. Duschek is first featured in the *Bukarester Haus-Kalender* (8th ed.) / *Adressenbuch von Bukarest* (3rd ed.), 1867, p. 30. Str. Nouă does not figure on the Jung plan (1856), but it appears shortly thereafter in archival records under the ephemeral name *str. Slătineanu* (1858): SMBAN, fond PMB General, d. 47/1858, f. 260 (submitted 17 Nov. 1858, permit no. 1889 issued on 22 Dec. 1858).

³⁵ For a classic antiquarian account of the Slătineanu-Capșa house, see Gheorghe Crutzescu, *op. cit.*, p. 131–144; for an updated historical overview: Maria-Magdalena Ioniță, *Casa și familia Capșa în România modernă. 1852-1950*, București, 2010, esp. p. 101–104 for the Slătineanu house.

³⁶ SMBAN, PMB Serviciul Tehnic, file 30/1870, f. 165 (submitted on 14 December 1870). For the earlier acquisition of the plot, Maria-Magdalena Ioniță, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

³⁷ SMBAN, PMB Serviciul Tehnic, file 40/1871, ff. 2 + 14–15 (submitted on 13/25 January 1871, permit no. 14 issued on 14/26 January 1871).

³⁸ *Trompeta Carpaților* IX.896 (4/16 March 1871), p. 4 to IX.902 (4/16 April 1871), p. 4; *Românulu* XV, 4 March 1871, p. 192 to 26–27 March 1871, p. 268.

³⁹ *Românulu* XV, 31 Oct. 1871, p. 944 to 6 Nov. 1871, p. 964; partially quoted without references (and dated January 1872) by Constantin Săvulescu, *Cronologia ilustrată a fotografiei din România*, p. 42.

sufficiently clear that this was going to be the case. Although the functions of the rooms are not indicated, a few features stand out enough as to allow for a closer reading of the floor plans (fig. 9). The building comprises two separate entrances on the ground floor: the one to the left (E1) leading to a grand staircase (S1) through a hallway sealed from the other front rooms, the one to the right (E2) opening on a suite of larger rooms and a smaller staircase (S2). The presence of two entrances and two front staircases very likely translates the need to direct the flow of customers to the studio, and away from the living quarters. This is consistent with the fact that the large staircase (S1) only goes as far as the first floor, while the smaller one (S2) reaches the second floor. Furthermore, the second floor features a generous space stretching across the entire width of the building, enclosed to the north not with brickwork, but with a lighter structure that could be read as a glass-pane wall or a large-scale window (W). If this reading is correct, then this space can be readily identified as the main room of Duschek's studio; in turn, the adjoining staircase could be singled out as intended for customers, with the larger front rooms on the ground floor probably intended to serve as exhibition rooms.



Fig. 9: Architectural project for Franz Duschek's house in strada Nouă (submitted on 13/25 January 1871): floorplans for the ground floor, first and second floor. SMBAN, fond PMB Serviciul Tehnic, d. 40/1871, ff. 14–15.
E1: entrance leading directly to the main staircase; E2: customers' entrance (as proposed in this paper); S1: main staircase; S2: customers' staircase; W: main workroom on the upper floor.

Duschek's ownership of his studio-house turned out to be short-lived. In 1872, brothers Constantin and Grigore Capșa, the owners of the successful confectionery installed since 1868 in a couple of rented rooms in the neighbouring Slătineanu house set forth to consolidate their business. They proceeded to purchase the entire Slătineanu house for 18000 Austrian ducats in July 1872; the owner of the adjacent plot on str. Nouă, Franz Duschek, sold his house to the Capșa brothers for 12000 ducats the same year.⁴⁰ These purchases were

⁴⁰ Nicolae I. Angelescu, *Negustorii de odinioară. Grigore Capșa și familia sa (1841–1902)*, București, 1940, p. 10; George Potra, *Din Bucureștii de ieri*, vol. 1, București, 1990, p. 404; Maria-Magdalena Ioniță, *op. cit.*, p. 107–108.

followed in 1873 by an extensive refurbishment and extension of the Slătineanu house meant to provide the growing establishment with suitable laboratories, storage places and lodgings.⁴¹ Duschek's reasons for selling the house he had completed barely one year earlier remain unknown. At any rate, he did not relocate his studio from str. Nouă until 1874, which most likely means that he remained on the premises as a tenant until the construction works carried out by the Capșa brothers on the neighbouring plot had been concluded.⁴²



Fig. 10: (top) Architectural project for the extension of the Slătineanu house in str. Nouă (submitted on 14 March 1873): plans for the ground floor and the first floor. The connection to the Duschek house, its partially reproduced floorplan in highlight. SMBAN, fond PMB Serviciul Tehnic, d. 15/1873, ff. 57–58. (bottom) The approximate position of the Duschek house in the post-1873 Capșa ensemble. *Planul orașului București* (1911), grids XIII C and XIII D, detail.

⁴¹ The project for the expansions of the existing building: SMBAN, fond PMB, Serviciul Tehnic, d. 15/1873, ff. 51 and 57–61 (submitted on 14 March 1873, permit no. 524 issued on 22 March 1873). The project for the refurbishment of the old Slătineanu house: SMBAN, fond PMB, Serviciul Tehnic, f. 15/1873, ff. 184 and 186–189 (submitted on 9 July 1873, permit no. 1406 issued on 28 July 1873). Cf. Maria-Magdalena Ioniță, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

⁴² See the advertisement quoted below, note 49; cf. *Bukarester Haus-Kalender* (15th ed.), 1874 / *Adressenbuch* (10th ed.), p. 27: “Duschek F., str. Nouă”.

Up to this point, I have deferred any discussion regarding the precise location of Duschek's studios on str. Nouă. As stated above, the general cartographic record for the late 1860s and early 1870s is lacunary; the building permission for Duschek's very first studio remains to be found, while the January 1871 request for the studio house only comprised floor plans, and no situation plan. Nevertheless, the various pieces of textual evidence reviewed so far do allow us to situate Duschek's property on a plot detached from the former Slătineanu estate, on the same side of the street and in the vicinity of the Slătineanu house, but not necessarily adjoining it. Furthermore, Duschek's press advertisements made it clear that his first studio opened in the 1860s stood on the same plot as his future house, forcing him to set up a provisional studio across the street for the duration of the construction works.⁴³



Fig. 11: View of the Capșa ensemble in the aftermath of the April 1944 Allied bombing raids, looking from str. Edgar Quinet towards Calea Victoriei. A: Slătineanu house; B: the Capșa extension of 1873; C: Franz Duschek's former studio house. Unidentified photographer / RADOR. AGERPRES, photo ID: 7646716.

The one missing link needed for the identification of Duschek's house is provided by the architectural project for the extension of the Slătineanu house, submitted in March 1873 (fig. 10, top). The floorplans show the new building linking up with the Slătineanu house to the left, and the pre-existing structure of the Duschek house to the right.⁴⁴ One can readily recognize the partitioning of the latter, including some of the elements discussed earlier: the left front entrance (E1), the closed hallway leading to the larger staircase (S1), with its rounded stairwell protruding into the inner courtyard. In other words, the extension built by the Capșa brothers connected the old Slătineanu house to the Duschek house, filling up the empty plot in between, closing the streetfront towards str. Nouă and effectively creating a new architectural ensemble (fig. 10, bottom).

⁴³ Pace Emanuel Bădescu, *Fotografii Bucureștilor (1866-1881)*, p. 134, who places Duschek's studio right in the Slătineanu house.

⁴⁴ Floorplans of the refurbished Slătineanu house, showing the link with the 1873 extension: SMBAN, fond PMB, Serviciul Tehnic, d. 15/1873, f. 186 and 189; floorplans of the extension, showing the link with the former Duschek house: ff. 57 and 58.

In this composite form, the Capșa ensemble has survived to this day, in spite of serious damage sustained during the Allied bombings of April 1944 (fig. 11).⁴⁵ With the archival record at hand, the former Duschek house can be recognized in the five easternmost bays of the façade of the Capșa ensemble on str. Edgar Quinet (C), while the 1873 extension stretches for another three bays to the west (B). Judging by the available photographic sources, the two buildings seem to have retained a certain degree of individuality in terms of decorative vocabulary, and still do so today, although it should be noted that their current façades are the result of post-war restoration works. Further research will need to elucidate to what extent the internal structure of Franz Duschek's studio house, as documented in his January 1871 request, has survived the subsequent uses of the building and bombing damage.

Franz Duschek at No. 21 *Calea Mogoșoaiei*

It has been suggested that Franz Duschek's departure from strada Nouă was triggered by a violent anti-German protest that led to the devastation of the Slătineanu hall in the evening of 10/22 March 1871.⁴⁶ However, the archival record and press sources discussed so far make it clear that Duschek's temporary relocation in the spring of 1871 was planned months ahead, and announced in the press one week before the protest. Far from leaving strada Nouă, Duschek moved his business across the street, only to announce in October 1871 the opening of his new studio house, as close as ever to the Slătineanu house.

In reality, the relocation of the studio only occurred in the spring of 1874. In February 1874, Duschek requested permission to build a photographic studio on the property of Baron Niculics at No. 21 *Calea Mogoșoaiei*.⁴⁷ The studio was to be erected in the courtyard, more than 20 fathoms (*stânjeni*) away from the street, above an old house (*d'asupra unei case vechi*). The permit specified that this was a provisional construction making the object of a 5-year lease, at the end of which Duschek was supposed to disassemble his studio; this clause would remain in effect if he chose to move before the expiration of the lease.⁴⁸

By all appearances, the ensuing construction works and the relocation of the studio had been concluded by April 1874, when Duschek advertised his new studio in the press:

"THE DUSCHEK PHOTOGRAPHIC STUDIO OF THE COURT

I have the honour to notify the honourable public that I have moved my photographic Studio from Strada nouă to the residence of prince MILOS, calea Mogoșoaiei No. 21, near the Sărindar Church.

On this occasion, I bring to the knowledge of the honourable public that I have set up my studio on the ground floor in the most comfortable way, conforming to the progress made by this art so as to be able to satisfy all the wishes of my honourable clients. [...]"⁴⁹

The property at No. 21 *Calea Mogoșoaiei* described in the advertisement as the residence of prince Milos (*casele prințului Milos*) was a fraction of an aristocratic estate situated to the north of the Sărindar monastery and historically tied to the Cocorăscu family.⁵⁰ By the 1850s, the former Cocorăscu house had

⁴⁵ Maria-Magdalena Ioniță, *op. cit.*, p. 242–243.

⁴⁶ Emanuel Bădescu, *op. cit.*, p. 134 with no further reference, followed by Ana Iacob, *Avangarda fotografilor din București*, București, 2015, p. 20.

⁴⁷ SMBAN, fond PMB, Serviciul Tehnic, d. 11/1874, ff. 7 and 11–12 (submitted on 13/25 Feb. 1874, permit no. 125 issued on 15/27 Feb. 1874). First signalled by Adrian Crăciunescu, "Atelierul fotografic Franz Duschek (1)"; elevation reproduced in Oana Marinache, *Arhiva de arhitectură 1870–1880*, p. 160.

⁴⁸ SMBAN, fond PMB, Serviciul Tehnic, d. 11/1874, f. 7v. The lease is also mentioned in the request for the dismantling of the provisional studio, SMBAN, fond PMB Serviciul Tehnic, d. 19/1876, f. 109 (request submitted on 24 September 1876, permit no. 2424 issued on 8 oct. 1876), discussed below.

⁴⁹ *Românului XVIII*, 22–23 April 1874, p. 360 (misprinted as 860) to 5 May 1874, p. 396: *ATELIERUL FOTOGRAFIC AL CURȚII DUSCHEK | Amă onore a însciița pe onorab. publică, că amă mutatū Atelierulū meu fotograficū din Strada nouă, în casele prințului MILOS, calea Mogoșoi No, 21, lângă Biserica Sărindar. | Cu această ocasiune aduc la cunoscina Onorab. Public că am arangiat atelierulū meū la parter în modulū celū măi confortabilū, și conformū cu progresele ce a făcutū acesiță artă, așa încât potū satisface tote dorințele onorab. meī clienți. [...]*

⁵⁰ For the monastery of Sărindar, see Cristian Moisesescu, "Un monument bucureștean dispărut – biserica mănăstirii Sărindar", in *Revista muzeelor și monumentelor – Monumente istorice și de artă XLV.2*, 1976, pp. 58–61; Lucia Stoica & Neculai Ionescu-

been purchased by Miloš Obrenović (1780/83-1860), former ruling prince of Serbia, who acquired a substantial number of properties in Wallachia both before and after his abdication (1839).⁵¹ The estate of Prince Miloš, including the house on Calea Mogoșoaiei, was first inherited by his son Mihailo Obrenović (1823–1868), who had no direct heirs at the time of his assassination. As such, the estate was eventually divided between the siblings of prince Mihailo and their respective heirs, with the house at No. 21 Calea Mogoșoaiei ending up in the share inherited by Baron Mihailo Nikolić (Mihály Nikolics) de Rudna (1841–1916), the younger living son of Elisabeth (Savka) Obrenović (†1848), daughter of prince Miloš.⁵² This is “Baron Niculics” mentioned in the request as Franz Duschek’s landlord.

Duschek’s reference to the house’s earlier owner in the advertisement was not unusual; prince Miloš’ name seems to have indeed persisted for more than a decade in the informal toponymy of the area. For instance, Dimitrie Pappasoglu saw fit to include a sketchy depiction of the building with the legend *Miloș* (fig. 1 above) in his map of central Bucharest (1871), while journalist Ulysse de Marsillac referred to *l’hôtel du prince Milosch* when describing his vision for a wide public square around the Sărindar church.⁵³ However, memories of these structures and their earlier association to prince Miloš seem to have quickly faded away after the reshaping of the Sărindar area in the subsequent decades. The plot would be completely rebuilt on a larger scale under the ownership of banker Christofi L. Zerlendi (1883), calling for the opening of a side street; finally, the area’s foremost landmark, the Sărindar church, was demolished in 1893.⁵⁴ The paucity of photographic material predating these changes may also account for the nearly complete absence of references to prince Miloš’ residence in the literary canon of Bucharest antiquarianism.⁵⁵

Cartographic evidence nevertheless allows for a reasonably precise understanding of the plot’s topography during prince Miloš’ lifetime, if not at the time of Franz Duschek’s arrival on the scene. The Jung plan of 1856 (fig. 12, top) places the plot marked *Milos* on the western front of Calea Mogoșoaiei, north of the enclosed complex of the Sărindar monastery, and across the street from the Slătineanu house discussed earlier (fig. 12/4).⁵⁶ This is corroborated by an alignment sketch dated March 1856 (fig. 12, bottom), which names the owners on the respective segment of Calea Mogoșoaiei, including *Prinț Miloș*.⁵⁷ Finally, a later alignment plan of the now-renamed Calea Victoriei (1889) confirms the street number known from textual sources: No. 21.⁵⁸

Ghinea, *Enciclopedia lăcașurilor de cult din București. Vol. 1: bisericile ortodoxe*, București, 2005, p. 659-661. For the Cocorăscu family and their earlier presence in the area, see Gheorghe Lazăr, “Boierii din Cocorăști: începuturi și descendenți”, in *Revista Istorică Română* XXIV.1–2, 2013, pp. 5–41; especially pp. 17-18 for their early presence on the site.

⁵¹ Obrenović is reported to have bought shortly after his abdication the house of Baron Sachelarie on Calea Mogoșoaiei, south of the Sărindar monastery; this building was acquired in the 1840s by the Russian state, either gifted or sold by Obrenović, and became the permanent residence of the Russian consulate (later, legation) in Bucharest. See on this topic Crutcescu, *op. cit.*, pp. 103–108 (esp. p. 105), Emanoil Hagi-Mosco, “O casă veche din București: palatul lui Șerban Vodă Cantacuzino”, in *București. Amintirile unui oraș*, București, 1995, pp. 37–54 (esp. p. 44), who both report the gift narrative; for the purchase (dated 1847), George Potra, *Din Bucureștii de ieri*, vol. 1, p. 237. Obrenović subsequently bought the property at No. 21 Calea Mogoșoaiei; see Ionel D. Dărdală, “Moșiiile dinastiilor sârbești în România”, in *Revista Istorică Română* XVI.3, 1946, pp. 273–281 (p. 276 for the two purchases). The Borroczyński plan of 1844–46, pl. 39 still shows the Cocorăscu family as owners of the property north of the Sărindar monastery.

⁵² Ionel D. Dărdală, *op. cit.*, p. 280. For the genealogy of the Nikolics family, see also Zoran Marcov and Ciprian Glăvan, “Istoria familiei Nikolics redată într-un document din colecția Muzeului Banatului”, in *Analele Banatului, s.n., Arheologie – Istorie* XVIII, 2010, pp. 173–183 with further reference.

⁵³ Ulysse de Marsillac, *Échos de Bucarest*, in *Le Journal de Bucarest* III.164, 17 March 1872, p. 3.

⁵⁴ Henri de Wurmb’s project for the Zerlendi building (1883) is signalled by Cezara Mucenic, *București. Un veac de arhitectură civilă. Secolul al XIX-lea*, p. 63 and pl. LX, figs. 34–35. For the opening of the Sărindar street, see Nicolae Lascu, *Bulevardele bucureștene până la Primul Război Mondial*, p. 119-120 and note 66 below.

⁵⁵ Interestingly, the relative position of the old Cocorăscu house in the topography of 1890s Bucharest was noted by both Dimitrie Pappasoglu, *Istoria fondărei orașului București*, București, 1891, p. 63 (*casele Zerlenti*) and G.I. Ionescu-Gion, *Istoria Bucureștilor*, București, 1899, p. 418 and 423 (*casa / clădirea Zerlenti*), but no mention is made of prince Miloš.

⁵⁶ Friedrich Jung, *Plan der Stadt Bukarest* (1856), grid H7.

⁵⁷ SMBAN, fond PMB General, d. 102/1856, f. 171 (request received on 16 March 1856, permit no. 373 issued on 19 March 1856). First discussed by Adrian Crăciunescu, *Atelierul fotografic Franz Duschek (1)*, who misreads the annotation Принц Мілош as “Prinz Nikolz”, but rightly identifies the building on the plan.

⁵⁸ SMBAN, fond PMB Alinieri, d. 264, f. 1: alignment plan elaborated in the autumn of 1889, with subsequent additions. The numbering on Calea Victoriei remained more or less stable from the 1860s to the 1880s, only being systematically revised in 1889; see *Monitorul Comunal* XV.3, 21 January 1890, p. 27–29.



Fig. 12: Calea Mogoșoaiei in the Sărindar area, ca. 1856. (top) Friedrich Jung, *Plan der Stadt Bukarest*, detail. Vienna, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv / Kriegsarchiv, KPS KS G I b 67. (bottom) Alignment sketch accompanying permit no. 373 for the reconstruction of the façades of the Slătineanu house. SMBAN, fond PMB General, d. 102/1856, f. 171v (issued on 19 March 1856).

Leaving aside the approximate proportions in the alignment sketch, there is one diverging detail regarding prince Miloș' house worth noting. On the Jung plan, the house (fig. 12/4) is depicted slightly protruding into Calea Mogoșoaiei, whereas on the alignment sketch it draws a sharp angle away from the street, so much as to leave room for a gatepost that falls in alignment with the northern neighbour's façade. The sketch echoes previous plans of the area, and it would be indeed surprising if it misrepresented its only matter of interest, namely alignment.⁵⁹ On the other hand, it seems equally unlikely that the Jung plan would gratuitously diverge from its model, the Borroczyński plan of 1852; one would rather expect it to miss recent changes in the city, than invent inexistent topographic features. If correct, this reasoning leaves us with one working hypothesis: that prince Miloș' house had undergone some alterations after March 1856, but still in time to make their way to Captain Jung's updated plan of Bucharest.

This minor case-study in urban change need not even have concerned us here, were it not for the fact that it allows us to revisit an often reproduced view of Calea Mogoșoaiei attributed to Franz Duscsek: one of the very few surviving photos to give us a glimpse of the house at No. 21 before the reshaping of the property in the 1880s (fig. 13).⁶⁰ Most probably taken from the balcony of the Resch house, across the street from the theatre, it follows the course of Calea Mogoșoaiei to the south, narrowing down as it enters the Sărindar area discussed here. The perspective is closed by the domes of the Sărindar church and the imposing façade of the Herdan Hotel (today Grand Hôtel du Boulevard). Let us examine the right side of the street in the light of the Jung plan: we encounter the enclosed courtyard of the Oteteleşanu property, adjoined

⁵⁹ Cf. the Borroczyński plans of 1844–46, pl. 39 and 1852, grid D6.

⁶⁰ Known period prints of this view are preserved at the Library of the Romanian Academy and in the collection of photographer Alex Gâlmeanu, whom I would like to thank for his help with high-resolution scans. The view was published and briefly commented by Crutzeșcu, *op. cit.*, pl. 7 and p. 187; George Potra, *Din Bucureștii de altădată*, București, 1981, unnumbered plate between pp. 240–241 and *Din Bucureștii de ieri*, vol. 1, unnumbered plate between pp. 480–481. More recently by Emanuel Bădescu, *Bucureștii în imagini în vremea lui Carol I*, pp. 194–195; Emanuel Bădescu and Radu Oltean, *Cele mai vechi și mai frumoase panorame fotografice ale Bucureștilor, 1856–1877*, București, 2008, pl. 13 and p. 17.

by the Oteteleşanu hotel (figs 12–13/1), with its two previously unconnected wings joined together in a continuous façade. Next to the hotel comes a barely visible construction occupying what had been recorded as an unbuilt plot on the Jung plan (figs 12–13/2), followed by a two-storey building with various shops on the ground floor, its façade sporting the distinctive *Rundbogenstil*-derived aesthetics popular in mid-19th century Bucharest (fig. 13/3). Finally, a partially visible structure protruding in the street and exposing a blind corner towards the *Rundbogenstil* building; this corner features a painted wall sign advertising TYPOGRAFIA MODERNA at No. 21 (fig. 13/4). Would we have relied solely on the alignment sketch mentioned earlier (fig. 12 bottom, hypothesis b), it would have been reasonable to identify the protruding building in the photo (fig. 13/4) as the shops adjoining the enclosure of the Sărindar church (fig. 12/5) and to surmise that the entrance to the courtyard recorded on the sketch (fig. 12/4) – the courtyard hosting Duschek’s studio by April 1874 – had been either built up, or was rendered invisible by the compressed perspective of the photo.⁶¹ In that case, No. 21 Calea Mogoşoaiei would actually refer to the *Rundbogenstil* building to the right (fig. 13/3), which would occupy the plots ascribed in the sketch to prince Miloš and Pandeale the Jeweller (*Pandeale Giuvaergiu*, fig. 12/3–4). However, once we compare the situation with the Jung plan, a far simpler solution presents itself: the house of prince Miloš is the protruding building in the photo (fig. 12, hypothesis a), while its oblong northern neighbour (fig. 12/3) can be readily identified with the *Rundbogenstil* building (fig. 13/3).⁶² The angle recorded on the Jung plan fully matches the corner created by the two structures, and the 21 *TYPOGRAFIA MODERNA* wall sign can now be taken to refer to the building on which it is written. It follows that the entrance to the courtyard of prince Miloš’ property and the shops of the Sărindar church lay farther to the left, hidden from the camera by the Ghika residence across the street.



Fig. 13: View of Calea Mogoşoaiei towards the Oteteleşanu hotel and the Sărindar area. Detail: the protruding corner of prince Miloš’ residence at No. 21 Calea Mogoşoaiei, with the Sărindar church and the Herdan hotel in the background. (attr.) Franz Duschek, ca. 1874. Albumen print (276 × 241 mm) on cardboard (326 × 285 mm). Alex Gâlmeanu collection.

⁶¹ Reading suggested by Adrian Crăciunescu, *Atelierul fotografic Franz Duschek* (1).

⁶² This building is indeed recorded with the old street number 23 in the alignment plan of 1889: SMBAN, fond PMB Alinieri, d. 264. That this was indeed the case ca. 1874 is confirmed by the fact that Adolf Deutsch, whose shop sign is captured in the photo, is listed at “str. Mogoşoi 23” in *Bukarester Haus-Kalender* (15th ed.), 1874 / *Adressenbuch* (10th ed.), p. 19.

Having now placed the property of prince Miloš / Baron Nikolics in the urban landscape of Calea Mogoșoaiei, we can take a closer look at Franz Duschek's studio installed in the courtyard. The architectural project approved by the municipality in February 1874 includes an elevation of the façade, two cross-sections (fig. 14) and floorplans for the two stories of the studio (fig. 15). Judging by this material, the "old house" mentioned in Duschek's request was a one-storey brickwork annex that underwent minimal structural modifications (marked in red) so as to fit a second storey; the blind wall raised on this occasion suggests that the construction was built against a property line. The floorplans also make it clear that the building extended further to the left with a larger, two storey wing that was left out of the drawing, most likely because it was not meant to undergo any changes. The provisional studio itself was a light structure shaped around a main workspace measuring about 12×5 metres, well lit through glass panes and a skylight. This room was adjoined to the left by a smaller space provided with glass panes on two sides, aligned with the protruding wing to the left, which could have served as a printing room. Another room facing the firewall and lacking any kind of natural lighting could only be reached through the long corridor 'behind the scene'; it is tempting to place here Duschek's darkroom. The studio itself could be accessed from the first floor of the protruding wing to the left, as well as by means of an external staircase. The latter communicated with a gallery supported by wooden posts, which provided easy access to the entire glazed surface. One also notices in the elevation the slight descending slope in the area.

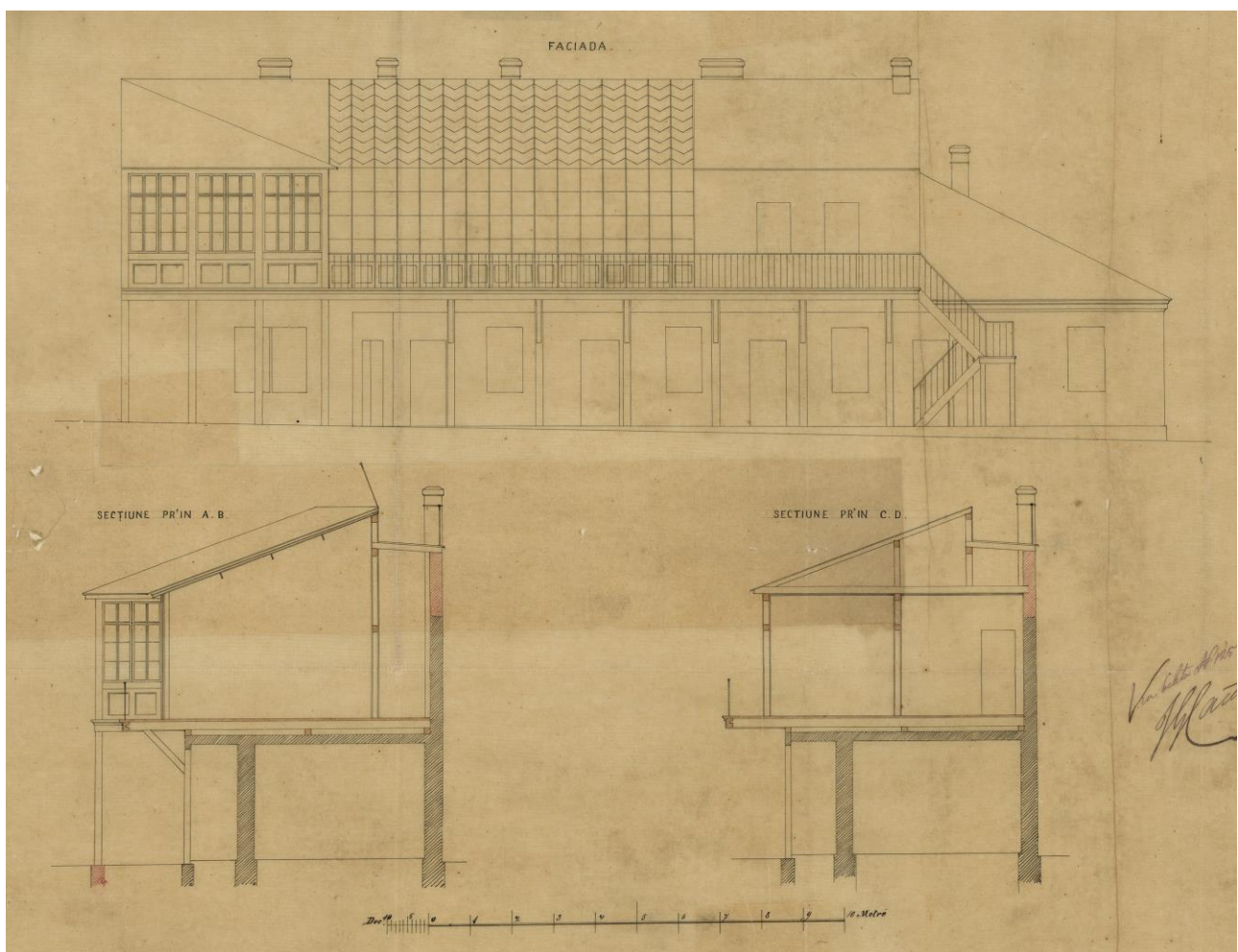


Fig. 14: Architectural project for Franz Duschek's studio at No. 21 Calea Mogoșoaiei (submitted on 13/25 Feb. 1874): elevation and cross-sections. SMBAN, fond PMB Serviciul Tehnic, d. 11/1874, f. 11.

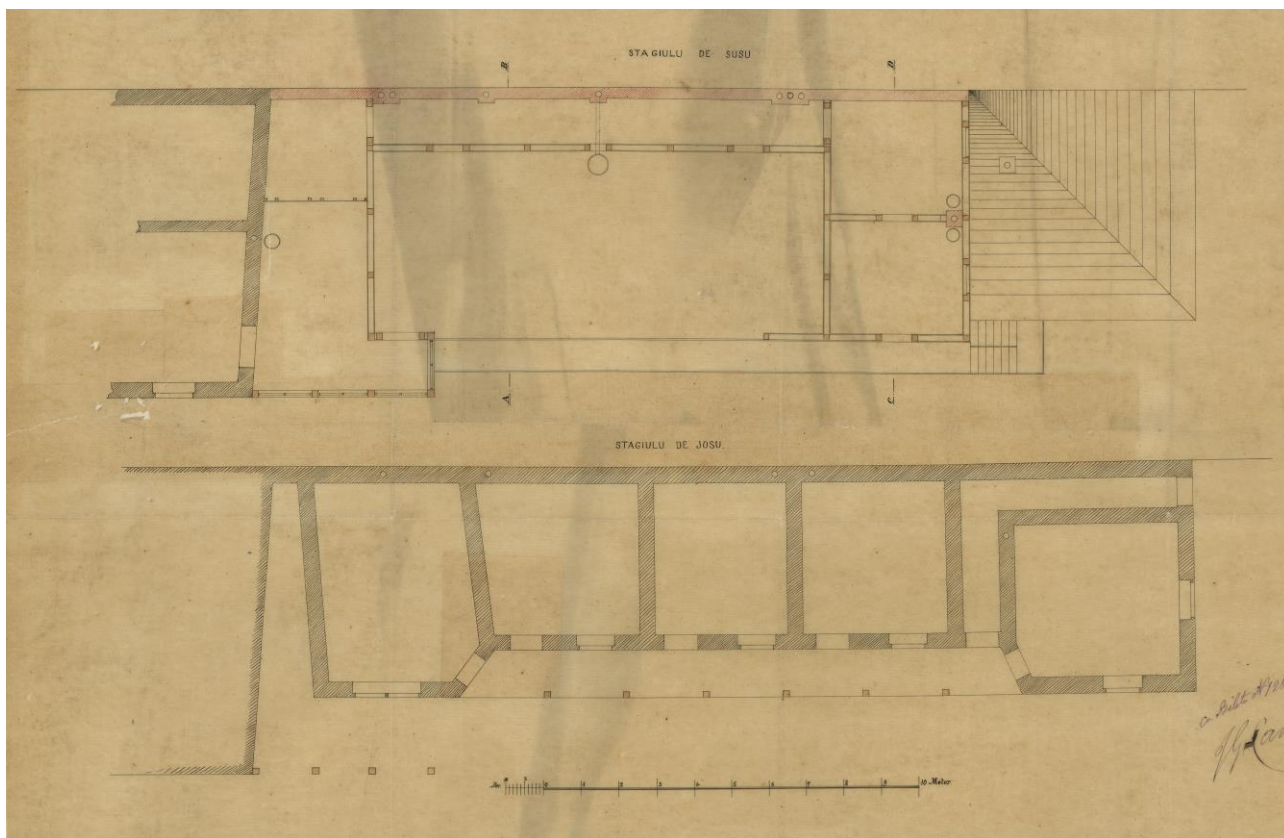


Fig. 15: Architectural project for Franz Duschek's studio at No. 21 Calea Mogoșoaiei (submitted on 13/25 Feb. 1874): floorplans. SMBAN, fond PMB Serviciul Tehnic, d. 11/1874, f. 12.

While the setting illustrated in these plans looks like a far cry from the elegant townhouse on strada Nouă, it seems likely that the full premises of Duschek's photographic business extended beyond the workrooms which made the object of the construction permit. The advertisement published in April 1874 praised the comforts of the new studio located *on the ground floor*; the small and badly lit spaces right below the studio could have hardly qualified as suitable exhibition and waiting rooms for the fashionable court photographer. It can only be surmised that larger interiors located elsewhere on the property were employed for this purpose.

Having examined the architectural drafts for Duschek's studio, let us now turn back to the topography of the entire plot as documented in the Jung plan 18 years earlier (1856). Given that the provisional studio was built "above an old house" in the courtyard, it does not seem far-fetched to attempt locating this pre-existing structure here (fig. 18). Leaving aside the main building facing Calea Mogoșoaiei, one notices two oblong annexes partially facing each other in prince Miloš' backyard: one built against the northern limit of the plot, the other bordering the enclosure of the Sărindar monastery to the south. Based on the visual evidence provided by the floorplans, the building on the southern side of the plot offers a worthy match, with (i) the projecting volume to the north recalling the partially drawn, equally protruding structure on the 1874 floorplans, and (ii) the wall towards the Sărindar monastery fitting the blind wall on the floor plan.⁶³ Last but not least, the proposed location also sits well with the descending slope observed earlier in the architectural project: a feature of the ground still noticeable today on site (e.g. str. Constantin Mille).

⁶³ Based on the 1874 floorplan, the length of the masonry structure on the ground floor measured from the joint with the partially drawn protruding wing is about 24.5 meters. The same segment recorded on the Jung plan measures about 10 Wallachian fathoms, i.e. ~19.6 meters. Given the obvious difference in scale and precision between an architectural draft and a city plan, this would rather support the proposed identification.

Oxcarts and photographic sorties in prince Miloš' backyard

Pinpointing the location of Duschek's provisional studio in prince Miloš' backyard would perhaps warrant less attention as an end in itself. It gains new relevance, however, when confronted with the surviving corpus of exterior shots ascribed to Duschek. As will be shown, at least two of them can be placed in the immediate vicinity of the studio (figs 16 and 17). Incidentally, both of them prominently feature oxen and oxcarts, a recurrent source of picturesque imagery in Duschek's work, it would seem; nevertheless, what concerns us here are the urban surroundings that can be glimpsed around and behind them.

The first image, a remarkably atmospheric study of oxcarts queuing in a snowy urban setting (fig. 16) is an interesting case of layered connoisseurship and missing connections.⁶⁴ Its relative location has been known for decades due to the easily recognizable intersection of Calea Mogoșoaiei and strada Nouă captured in the background. On the left corner stands the Slătineanu house discussed earlier, with its iconic post-1873 façade; although the building was already owned by Capșa, the legible shop sign above the entrance signals the Brüss pharmacy, which would eventually relocate in the smaller two-storey building on the right corner of the street.⁶⁵ Yet the entire setting across Calea Mogoșoaiei and its implications remained to be understood.⁶⁶ Advancing towards the camera, one registers the façade of a substantial building to the left, its entrance marked by the visible corner of a snow-covered canopy; to the right, a gatepost and a blind wall enclosing the courtyard. The surroundings closely match the structures on the Jung plan, despite the absence of strada Nouă on the latter (fig. 18, position α): the building to the left can only be prince Miloš' house, with its projected entrance recorded on the plan, while the long wall to the right marks the property line with the Sărindar monastery. We have gained, in this way, another glimpse into this lacunar corner of central Bucharest. The hitherto missed implication of this localisation for the local history of photography is that this winter view was taken in the very courtyard that accommodated Duschek's provisional studio starting from April 1874. Taken by itself, this does not ascertain that the photo was taken by Duschek or during his stay in the courtyard – but the evidence weighs strongly in this direction, as it will become clearer in what follows.

The second oxcart scene examined here (fig. 17) opens the Romanian album at the Albertina mentioned earlier; to my knowledge, it has not been discussed in previous scholarly literature. By all appearances, the camera had followed its subjects deeper into the backyard of a large property. The two-storey building right behind the oxen and their drivers bears a striking resemblance to Duschek's provisional studio as documented in the architectural drafts reviewed earlier, even though the angle does not exactly facilitate the comparison. One notes a sturdy ground floor that has been overbuilt with lighter materials. The resulting upper floor extends beyond the width of the ground floor, but it does not cover its entire length, leaving room for the roof in the architectural project, a wooden shed and a small terrace in the photo. The window on the ground floor, as well as the two windows belonging to the main structure on the upper floor correlate successfully with the openings on the floorplans. One also recognizes in the background the external gallery, although foreshortened by perspective – and, more importantly, the protruding workroom with large glass panes. To be sure, there are also a number of features diverging from the drafts. The staircase in the photo seems to follow a simpler design with no landings; the upper floor is covered with a gable roof instead of the authorized single-pitched roof, while the free surface left above the ground floor features now the shed and terrace noted above instead of the projected roof. Finally, the drafts make no

⁶⁴ The print in the Library of the Romanian Academy illustrated here (inv. F II 21719) has notably survived untrimmed, preserving the entire surface of the glass plate negative. A trimmed print made from the same negative can be found in the Romanian album at the Albertina, Foto2007/337/2.

⁶⁵ George Potra, *Din Bucureștii de ieri*, vol. 1, unnumbered plate between pp. 480–481; Emanuel Bădescu, *Bucureștii în imagini în vremea lui Carol I*, vol. 1, p. 182–183. The untrimmed albumen print in Library of the Romanian Academy (inv. F II 21719) and a 20th c. gelatin silver print copy (inv. F II 159140) bear nearly identical annotations which even relate the view to the subsequent photographic history of the area: “Corner of Calea Victoriei and Edgar Quinet. This old building facing the House of the Army, where the Brüss pharmacy and Foto-Julietta were located, was demolished at the bombardment on 4 April 1944.” (F II 21719) The annotations can be dated after 1949, judging on the reference to the (Central) House of the Army.

⁶⁶ Emanuel Bădescu, *Bucureștii în imagini în vremea lui Carol I*, vol. 1, p. 182 tentatively places the photo on “ulița Sărindar”, but such a street was only opened in the early 1890s; see above note 54. The alignment plan for Calea Victoriei drawn in the autumn of 1889 still shows the old property line between the Sărindar church and the Zerlendi plot: SMBAN, fond PMB Alinieri, d. 264. In fact, owner Christofi Zerlendi had been lobbying the municipal council for the opening of the street after the erection of the new Zerlendi building on the plot: see the summary in *Monitorul Comunal* IX.44, 11 November 1884, p. 397–399.

mention of the adjoining one-storey annex to the right. All things considered, it can be stated that the structural features of the building in the photo, its proportions and the distribution of volumes closely corroborate the architectural drafts for Duschek's studio, whereas the differences pertain to lighter features that could undergo a fair amount of adaptation on the construction site.⁶⁷



Fig. 16: Winter scene with ox carts in the courtyard of prince Miloš' residence at No. 21 Calea Mogoșoaiei. (attr.) Franz Duschek, ca. 1874–1876. Untrimmed albumen print, 20th-century cardboard mount, 165 × 130 mm (glass plate) / 182 × 139 mm (print). Library of the Romanian Academy, inv. F II 21719.

One immediate way to put this working hypothesis to test alongside my earlier localization of the studio would be to confront the setting in the photo with the documented topography of prince Miloš' property. If this is indeed Duschek's studio built above the southern annex recorded on the Jung plan, as proposed, then the camera could only have been placed west of the studio, overlooking the courtyard towards the main house (fig. 18, position β). The building on the left side of the photo, situated slightly closer to the camera, readily matches the position of the northern annex in the courtyard. The more stately building in the background also sits well with the position of the main house on prince Miloš' property, and it clearly stretches further behind the proposed studio. In the absence of any clear view of the area taken before the demolition of the house, we once again have to work with fragments. The structure of the façade and its subdued neoclassic vocabulary are remarkably consistent with the inner corner seen in the winter oxcart scene (fig. 16), and the outer corner protruding into Calea Mogoșoaiei (fig. 13). The apparent height of the building may strike one at first sight as an unlikely match to the relatively modest proportions of the structure seen from Calea Mogoșoaiei. However, there are good reasons to believe that the *belvedere*-shaped

⁶⁷ I would like to thank Dr. Tudor Elian ("Ion Mincu" University of Architecture and Urbanism) for his valuable feedback on this reading of the visual material.

third storey in the photo did indeed belong to prince Miloš' house, but occupied a recessed position that made it less visible from Calea Mogoșoaiei.⁶⁸ In addition to this, the descending slope in the area, noticeable in the photo, would enhance the apparent proportions of the building. Finally, the tall, yet thin dome at the right edge of the frame offers a decisive piece of evidence in favour of the localization of the photo in prince Miloš' backyard. This is one of the distinctive twin domes at the eastern end of the Sărindar church, as reshaped by the renovation works of the 1860s; we have spotted them earlier, as seen from Calea Mogoșoaiei (fig. 13). In reality, the documented topography of the area does not accommodate any other angle that would capture one of the eastern domes in this position.⁶⁹



Fig. 17: Ox carts in the courtyard of prince Miloš' residence at No. 21 Calea Mogoșoaiei. (attr.) Franz Duschek, ca. 1874–1876. Albumen print (136 × 118 mm) on cardboard album page (242 × 350 mm). Albertina, Foto2007/337/1 (*Rumänisches Album*).

⁶⁸ The ridge of the roof of this third storey, as well as the tiny annex with a closed porch captured at the right edge of the photo are distinguishable in Ludwig Angerer's panoramic view overlooking the Sărindar church (*Serendar Kirche, obere Verlängerung der Mogoshoe mit der Fernsicht gegen Vakarest vom Theater aus*, ca. 1856). Since the line of reasoning involved in an analysis of this view goes well beyond the scope of the current article, I shall defer the discussion to a future paper.

⁶⁹ The only viable counter-hypothesis would place the photo on the other side of Calea Mogoșoaiei, somewhere in between the Greceanu and the Popovici properties, i.e. in the immediate vicinity of the newly opened boulevard (see above §2). But this is a far better documented area, in terms of both archival and photographic material; nothing in this area matches the structures in the photo. Furthermore, the western towers of the Sărindar church were built on a rectangular plan, and as such could be easily distinguished from the corresponding eastern domes.

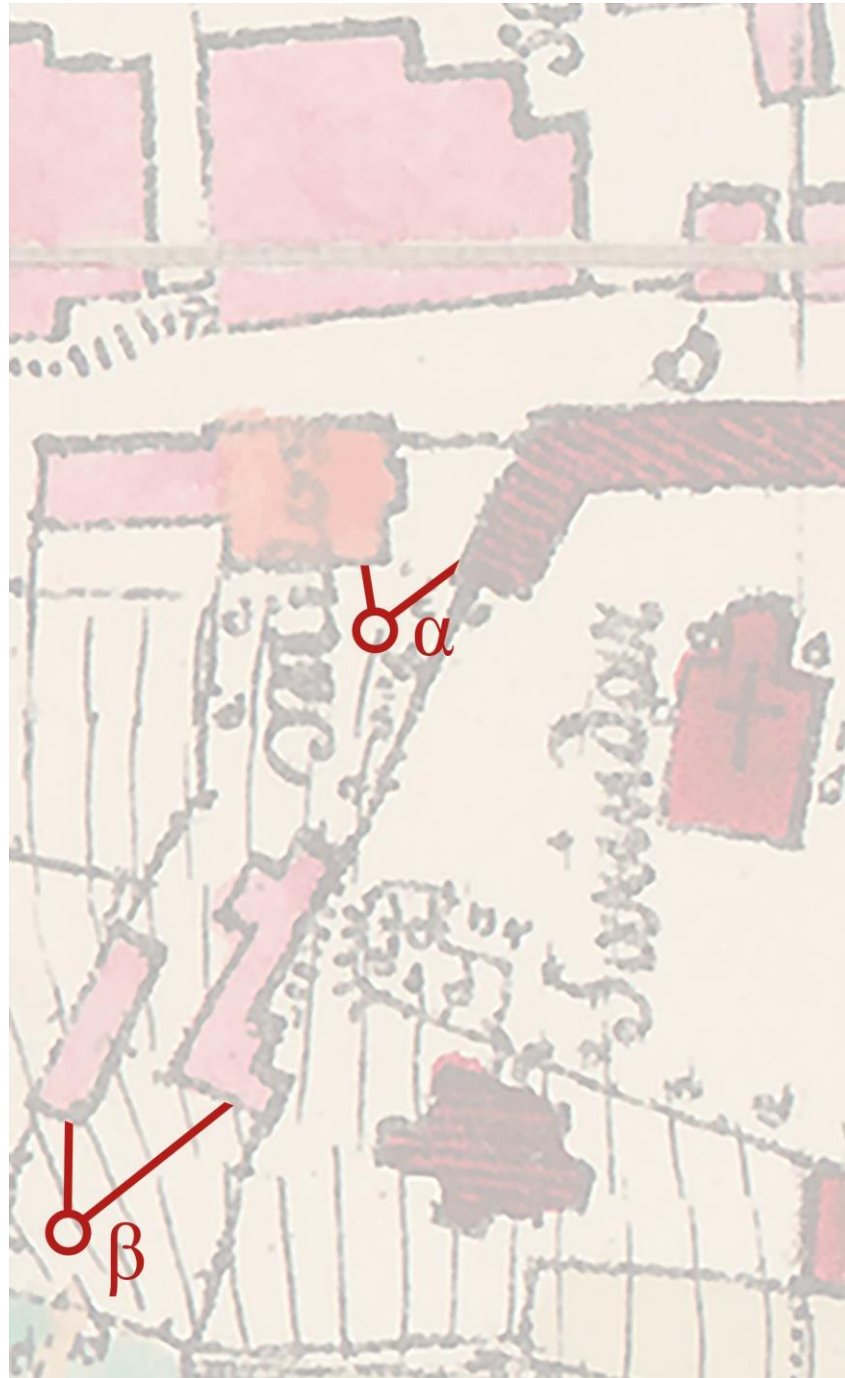


Fig. 18: Prince Miloš' residence at No. 21 Calea Mogoșoaiei on Friedrich Jung's *Plan der Stadt Bukurest* (1856), with the reconstructed station points of the winter oxcart scene (α) and the Albertina oxcart scene with Duschek's studio in the background (β). Vienna, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv / Kriegsarchiv, KPS KS G I b 67.

To sum up, the cartographic and photographic evidence collated here proves by and large to be consistent with my initial working hypothesis, as advanced on the basis of the analogy with the February 1874 architectural project: namely, that the lightweight structure captured in the Albertina oxcart scene is indeed Franz Duschek's studio at No. 21 Calea Mogoșoaiei. The importance of such conclusions for the photographic record of Bucharest cannot be understated. This is, to my knowledge, the only photo identified so far to capture in working order one of Duschek's studios – and one of the very few exterior views of local photographic studios predating the 1890s. There might be more to discover, but one may just have to look beyond the obvious hints and visual expectations.

As far as authorship is concerned, both oxcart scenes discussed here had been previously attributed to Duschek by association, but none of the known prints bears any visible photographer's mark.⁷⁰ Taking them together – not because of the oxen, but in light of their recovered urban surroundings – one can now build a far stronger case for their attribution to Franz Duschek.

As such, they shed new light on Duschek's photographic practice, which can be shown now to have included sorties in the immediate vicinity of his studio, more likely triggered by interesting sights than planned in advance. This is, of course, not surprising, given the limited mobility of 19th century photographic apparel, and other photographers in Bucharest have been thought to engage in more or less similar ways with the opportunities for proto-ethnographic photography presented by the everyday urban spectacle around the studio.⁷¹ In this case, however, a verifiable pattern in a verifiable location emerges; future research will show whether this corpus can be enlarged, or perhaps similar practices could be associated with Duschek's other studios.

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The provisional studio set up on Baron Nikolics' property at No. 21 Calea Mogoșoaiei did not live up to its five-year term, merely lasting two years. In September 1876, Franz Duschek requested permission to return the annex that had accommodated the studio to its previous state, as required by his contractual obligations. In vague terms, the request alludes to an incident that prompted Duschek's early departure: "But now, after a certain circumstance I am forced to dismantle this studio [...] I am put in the position to replace the roof of the annexes as they were [...]" (*Acum însă după o împrejurare ori-care suntă silitu a desființa acestu Atelier [...] sunt pus în pozițiune a înlocui învelitoare dependințelor pre cum a fost*).⁷² The nature of this incident is clarified by a note published three years later in the government gazette *Monitorul Oficial*, which called baron Mihail Nikulics de Rudna as a third party in a civil lawsuit filed by Duschek against Hristodor Eliad(i).⁷³ What transpires is that baron Nikolics had sold his property to Eliad while Duschek was operating on-site as a tenant, and Eliad apparently sequestered the studio in an attempt to evict Duschek before the expiration date of the lease. While the background of the incident remains unknown, such an experience could well have influenced Duschek's subsequent approach to developing his photographic business.

Franz Duschek in strada Franklin

In 1876, Duschek bought from Armenian landowner Hacı Şahim (Sachim) a property on strada Franklin for 24000 lei.⁷⁴ This was a side street opened at the beginning of the decade, concomitantly with the redevelopment of a dilapidated estate once belonging to the bishopric of Râmnic (*metocul episcopiei Râmnicului*) into a public garden (*Grădina Episcopiei*).⁷⁵ Duschek's property consisted of an unbuilt, oddly shaped plot resulted from the opening of str. Franklin against the grain of the pre-existing urban tissue in the area. Nevertheless, the location offered as many commercial opportunities as his previous studios in terms of proximity to Calea Mogoșoaiei, while placing him closer to the princely palace.

⁷⁰ The two albumen prints at the Albertina feature, in succession, at the beginning of the Romanian album (inv. Foto2007/337). Four photos in the album bear indeed Duschek's blind stamp, while others can be safely attributed to him based on ascertained analogies; these remain to be explored in a future contribution. I would like to thank Dr. Anna Hanreich (Albertina, Vienna) for her kind input on this album.

⁷¹ See for instance Adrian-Silvan Ionescu, *Fotografie und Folklore. Zur Ethnofotografie im Rumänien des 19. Jahrhunderts*, in *Fotogeschichte* 27/103, 2007, p. 48–49 and Emanuel Bădescu & Radu Oltean, *Carol Popp de Szathmári fotograficul Bucureștilor*, p. 48 (unnumbered) for suppositions on Szathmári's scouting for picturesque 'types'.

⁷² SMBAN, fond PMB Serviciul Tehnic, d. 19/1876, f. 109 (request submitted on 24 September 1876, permit no. 2424 issued on 8 oct. 1876).

⁷³ *Monitorul Oficial* XXXVI.92, 22 April / 4 May 1879, p. 2336.

⁷⁴ SMBAN, fond Creditul Funciar Urban București, inv. 1267, f. 30r. According to the same record, Hacı Şahim himself had bought the plot in 1872 from the municipality of Bucharest for 18150 lei. I would like to thank Dr. Radu Stanciu for this reference. Hacı Şahim's ownership of the plot is recorded on an early alignment plan of the area: SMBAN, fond PMB Alinieri, d. 144, which can be therefore dated ca. 1872–1876.

⁷⁵ Emanuel Bădescu, "Fotografii Bucureștilor (1866–1881)", p. 134 and "Franz Duschek", p. 79 surmises that Duschek was already installed by 1872 in str. Franklin, and then seeks to reconcile the evidence by suggesting that str. Franklin would have also borne the name "Strada Nouă" at the time. The archival record shows the documented street name already in use in the planning phase: SMBAN, fond PMB, Serviciul Tehnic, d. 5/1869, especially f. 10: *Strada Franklinu*; cf. Major Dimitrie Pappasoglu, *Bucuresci Capitala Romaniei* (1871): *Franclin*; SMBAN, fond PMB Alinieri, d. 144: *Strada Franklinu*.

In August 1876, Duschek filed through an intermediary the request for the construction of a “photography building” (*uă Clădire de fotografie*) on his recently acquired property.⁷⁶ The ensuing architectural projects bear witness to the difficulties of accommodating the design of the studio to the irregular shape of the plot. In its first form authorised in 1876 (fig. 19), Duschek’s studio was a single-storey structure with a symmetrical façade articulated around the large glazed surface of the main workroom, which overlooked the street and received light from the north. Notwithstanding the constraints of the plot, the organization of the space bears a distinct resemblance to the provisional studio in Calea Mogoşoaiei, as shown by the front gallery providing easy access to the glass panes and the corresponding service corridor at the back of the studio. The floorplan does not seem to leave room for living quarters – something which may explain why Duschek was also renting a house from painter Theodor Aman in August 1876.⁷⁷

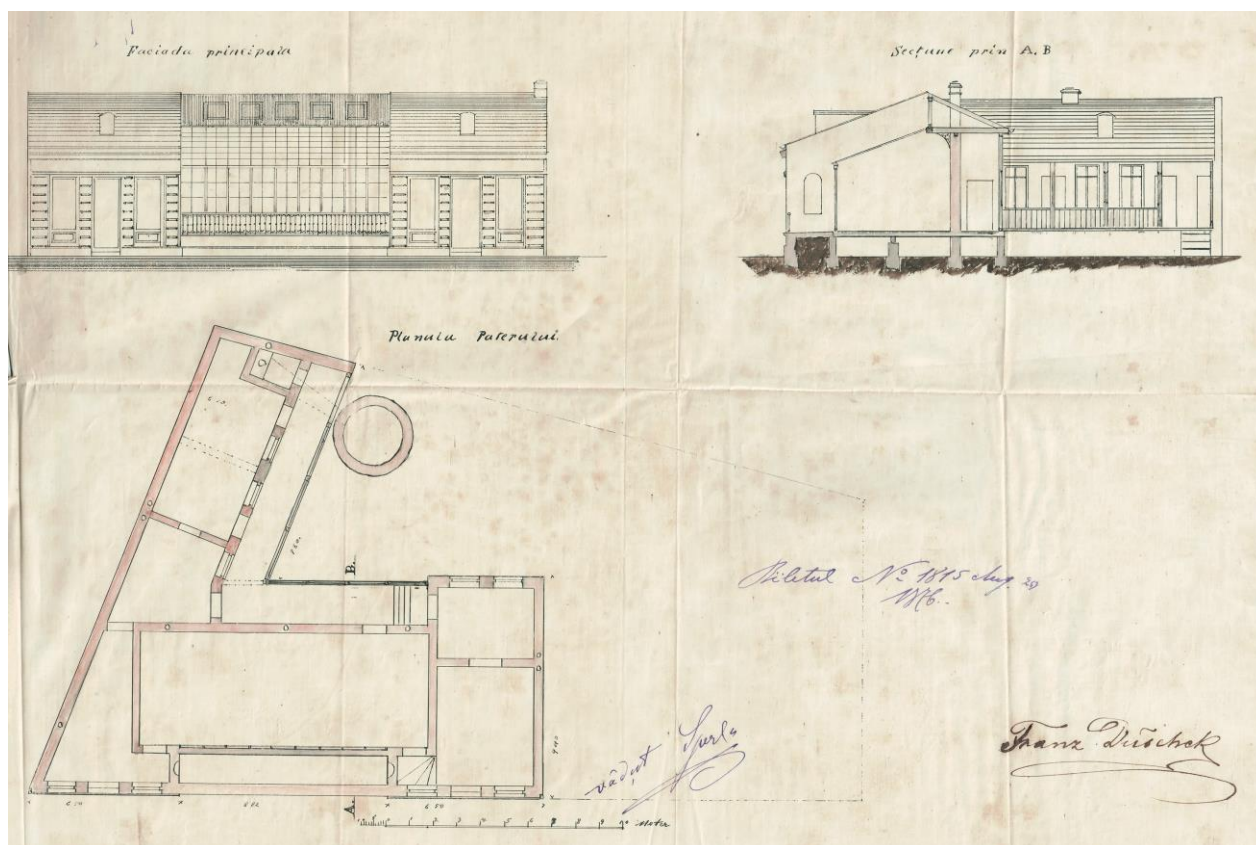


Fig. 19: Architectural project for Franz Duschek’s studio at No. 3 strada Franklin (submitted on 19 August 1876). SMBAN, fond PMB Serviciul Tehnic, d. 14/1876, f. 153.

At the beginning of 1880, Duschek proceeded to add a second storey to his studio in str. Franklin (fig. 20). The logistics described in the request resemble his earlier planning in strada Nouă: a provisional studio “made of timber with glass panes” (*un atelier de scânduri cu geamuri*) would ensure the continuity of the photographic business for the duration of the construction works, which was estimated at three months. Since he was able to build the provisional studio in his own backyard, the permission was successfully granted this time.⁷⁸ The project for the permanent studio is the only one retrieved so far in Duschek’s archival record to bear the signature of an architect, the Austrian Joseph (Iosif) Exner.

⁷⁶ SMBAN, fond PMB Serviciul Tehnic, d. 14/1876, ff. 152–154 (submitted on 19 August 1876, permit no. 1815 issued on 20 August 1876). First signalled by Adrian Crăciunescu, “Atelierul fotografic Franz Duschek (2)”; architectural project partly reproduced in Oana Marinache, *Arhiva de arhitectură 1870–1880*, pp. 193–195. Pace George Potra, *Din Bucureşti de ieri*, vol. 2, p. 263, who locates the studio in No. 3 str. Franklin “in an old and interesting boyar residence”, probably followed by Emanuel Bădescu, “Fotografii Bucureştilor (1866–1881)”, p. 134, who singles out the former house of *paharnic* Barbu Slătineanu.

⁷⁷ Adrian-Silvan Ionescu, *Penel şi sabie. Artiști documentariști și corespondenți de front în Războiul de Independență (1877–1878)*, București, 2001, p. 136 with further reference.

⁷⁸ SMBAN, fond PMB Serviciul Tehnic, d. 19/1880, ff. 83, 93 and 97 (project dated 31 January 1880, request submitted on 13 February 1880, permit issued on 15 February 1880).

The main workroom and its skylight were relocated to the upper floor, which seems to have been entirely reserved for Duschek's photographic business; its layout closely followed the precedents observed in the 1874 and 1876 projects. This meant that the ground floor could now be used for a variety of purposes: extended exhibition or waiting rooms, living quarters or rented commercial spaces. The lack of captions once again prevents us from fully understanding the designated functions of the rooms, but the partitioning and the distribution of entrances does provide clues for a partial reconstruction. The floorplan comprised a central passageway that lead to the backrooms in the courtyard. The room to the right could be reached directly from the street through a second, narrower entrance, from whence the visitor could head directly for the staircase and the studio upstairs, or turn right and visit a suite of two adjoining rooms. The corresponding rooms on the left side of the passageway, however, could not be reached directly from the street and communicated with the backrooms. More transparently than in strada Nouă, the layout shows concern in directing the visitors' flow to a limited number of rooms and, with or without detours, to the studio, while sealing off as much as possible other parts of the building. The latter were more likely to accommodate living quarters. It is perhaps no accident that the rooms provided with easy access from the street are also the more regular in shape, whereas the ones left outside the visitors' flow are the ones more affected by the irregular shape of the plot.

The asymmetries of the plan were carefully hidden from view. Exner's façade preserved the sober rustication of the ground floor and provided the building with a classically treated *piano nobile*: two symmetrical 'wings' with alternating pediments flanked the central glazed surface of the studio. The external gallery that gave easy access to the glass panes took the assumed the shape of a little terrace decorated with facing niches. In brief, a diminutive Italian villa for a master photographer who seemed to have finally reached prosperity.

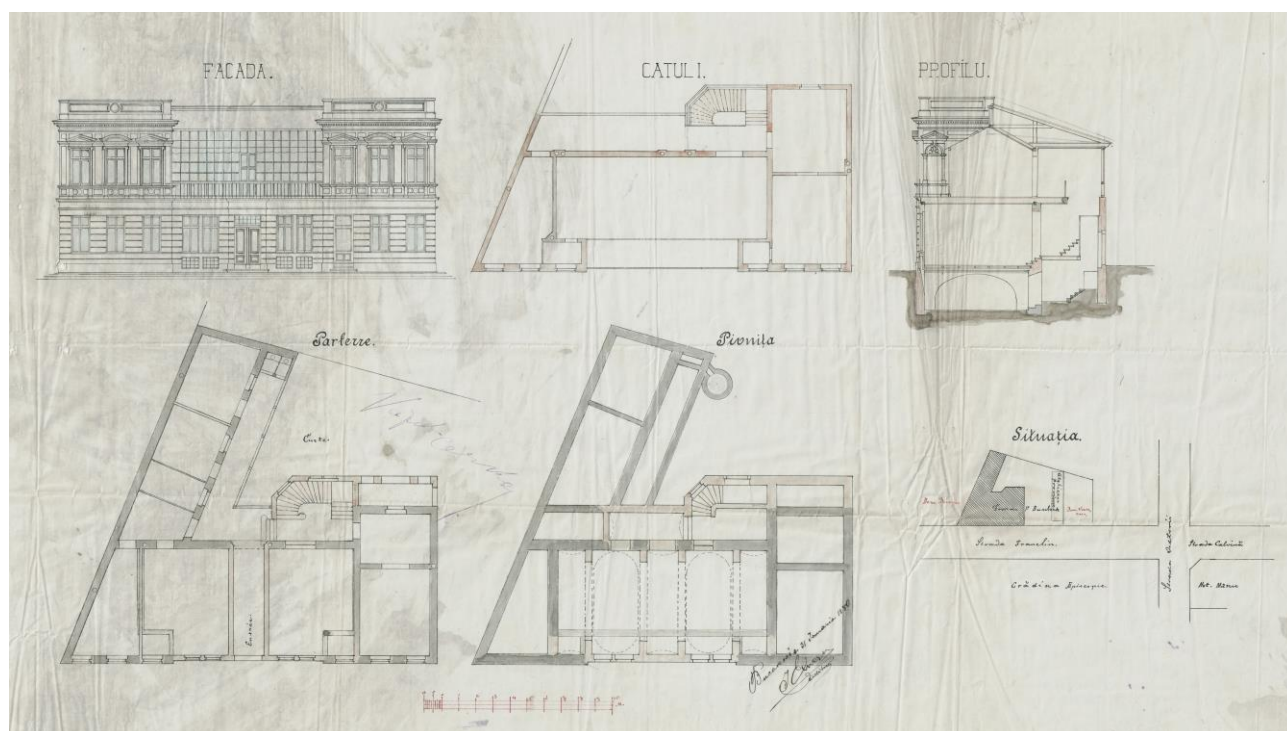


Fig. 20: Architectural project for the extension of Franz Duschek's studio at No. 3 strada Franklin. Arch. Joseph Exner, project dated 31 January 1880. SMBAN, fond PMB Serviciul Tehnic, d. 19/1880, f. 93.

This was to be Franz Duschek's final studio in Bucharest, and he did not enjoy its comforts for long. One of his last known advertisements presented his studio as "altogether newly organised" (*cu totul de nou organizat*) in 1882.⁷⁹ The same year, Duschek sold his property to Samuel Sander for 60000 lei and

⁷⁹ Th. Bauer, *Căluza Bucureștilor: Guide de Bucarest*, [Bucharest] 1882, p. 209 (unnumbered); quoted without clear references in George Potra, *Din Bucureștii de ieri*, vol. 2, p. 261.

reportedly left Bucharest for Egypt, where he died shortly thereafter.⁸⁰ The photographic history of the building at No. 3 strada Franklin did not come to an end with his departure, but further research is needed in order to recover the archival record of the studio under its subsequent owners and operators.⁸¹

Coda

The case studies explored in this paper wholly confirm the relevance of archival records related to urban administration for a comprehensive history of photography in 19th-century Bucharest and elsewhere. First, they bring significant clarification to the chronology and topography of photographic studios in a changing urban landscape. Second, the architectural projects accompanying many of the requests shed light on the previously undocumented backstage of photographic studios, allowing us to understand their spatial arrangement in relation to habitation and possible workflows. This, in turn, opens the way for future comparative studies on a broader geographic and cultural scale. All the more significantly, the information gained from such archival records allows us to return to the surviving photographic corpus with new insights. Last but not least, the fonds explored here also contain a wealth of information regarding photographers who did not enjoy Szathmári's or Duschek's visibility, short-lived studios and even rejected applications. Formulaic as it may often be, such material presents us with the opportunity to approach the history of 19th-century photography as social and urban history, looking beyond the hierarchies inherent in other types of primary sources, and beyond accidents in the preservation of photographic work.

⁸⁰ SMBAN, fond Creditul Funciar Urban București, inv. 1267, f. 30r for the Duschek-Sander transaction; according to the same document, Sander sold the plot to Iulia Appel in 1894. Briefly mentioned in the current bibliography (see note 31 above), Duschek's departure and final chapter in Egypt have yet to be documented in any detail.

⁸¹ Iosif and Marie Szöllösy's photographic business at the same address has been duly noted in secondary literature. See for instance George Potra, *Din Bucureștii de ieri*, vol. 2, p. 263 (although not explicitly linking Duschek to Szöllösy); Emanuel Bădescu, "Fotografii Bucureștilor (1881-1914)", in Emanuel Bădescu & Ion Bulei, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 7; Adriana Dumitran, *Arta fotografiei în România (1840-1900)*, p. 70; Adrian-Silvan Ionescu, *Photographers in Romania 1840-1940*, p. 61. The archival record mentioned above (note 80) implies that (i) Duschek did not sell the building to Szöllösy, as presumed, and that (ii) all the subsequent photographers operating on the site were tenants.

